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ESCHATOLOGY.

THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD.

The first act of Christ on his second advent, at the last day, will be the quickening of all the dead. "I believe in the resurrection of the body" is part of the creed of all Christendom. The doctrine of the resurrection of the dead is neither more nor less an article of faith than the doctrine of the forgiveness of sins. Though much has been said and written in a philosophical way on this subject, particularly with a view of vindicating this doctrine against its assailants from Celsus to the modern materialists, and though most of the arguments advanced by the impugnors of this doctrine are such that they can well be met on their own ground and refuted in the light of reason, yet it must be remembered that this article is not, and cannot be, a chapter of philosophy, but must be viewed as a chapter of theology, revealed theology, a doctrine set forth in Scripture and taught and believed wholly and solely, in all its points, on the authority of this book of divine revelation. The records laid down in the book of nature are largely records of death and burial, but present no positive statement of the resurrection of the dead. Neither can this historical event, one

of the closing events of this world's history, be established by discursive reasoning, like a problem in mathematics, or an axiom of metaphysics, any more than Aristotle or Bacon could have construed an account of the battle of Waterloo. Even less. For the course of human events in a measure depends on concatenations of natural causes and the will of reasoning minds, reasoning according to certain laws. Thus, at the beginning of a campaign, the strategian who has planned the campaign may, though not with certainty, yet with some probability, foretell where the decisive battles shall be fought. But the resurrection of the dead is an event which is in no way or measure subject to or resulting from natural causes operating according to laws of nature; it is, as was the creation of the world, an immediate act of God, performed according to the will of God. *For as the Father raiseth up the dead, and quickeneth them, even so the Son quickeneth whom he will.*¹⁾ There is no such thing as a germ of immortality and resurrection in the mortal body, which might be developed into newness of life. Resurrection will not only be a raising up of what has been laid low, but a quickening, *ζωοποιήσις*, of what has been dead; and this will be a work of God, as Paul says, *He that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you.*²⁾ That this act of the triune God is, by appropriation, particularly ascribed to Christ, the Son of God and the Son of man, makes it no less a Divine act than other *opera ad extra*, no less than the work of redemption, in which also the three persons of the Godhead concurred, while it was in a peculiar way the work of the God-man, Jesus Christ. Even as it was the Father's will that the Son should redeem the world, so Christ says, *This is the will of him that sent me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have everlasting life: and I will raise him up at the last day.*³⁾

1) John 5, 21.

2) Rom. 8, 11.

3) John 6, 40; cf. v. 54.

What Jesus did in the days of his humility, calling Jairus' daughter from the sleep of death, and Lazarus, the victim of death and decay, from his sepulchre, the exalted Prince of life will be able to do when he shall come with power and great glory. As he will not need the powers and laws of nature for the performance of his work of Divine omnipotence, so he will not be hindered by any created cause in calling forth from the dust of the earth¹⁾ all those mortal bodies which have descended from a body once formed out of the dust of the earth. *The Son quickeneth whom he will,*²⁾ and where he has a will, he has a way.

That which shall be quickened in the resurrection of the dead will be *our mortal bodies*, τὰ θνητὰ σώματα ἡμῶν.³⁾ The resurrection of the body is not identical with the immortality of the soul. Neither is it the creation of a new body which has never before been in existence. It is *THIS corruptible* which shall put on incorruption, and *THIS mortal* shall put on immortality.⁴⁾ That which was *sown a natural body* will be *raised up* a spiritual body.⁵⁾ It is with this assurance that Job says, *In my flesh shall I see God.*⁶⁾ For if *the dead in Christ shall rise*,⁷⁾ if *they that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake*,⁸⁾ if *they that are in the graves* shall hear the voice of the Son of God and shall come forth,⁹⁾ it is clear that we shall rise with the identical bodies that were separated from their immortal souls in death. Nor will the quickening of these dead bodies be the creation of a new life, but the restoration of the life with which they were once imbued, which immediately inhered in the soul of which its body was the first habitation, and the reunion of this soul with its body will be the restoration of its life to its body. Thus will the whole and iden-

1) Dan. 12, 2.

2) John 5, 21.

3) Rom. 8, 11.

4) 1 Cor. 15, 44.

5) Ibid.

6) Job 19, 26.

7) 1 Thess. 4, 16; cf. 1 Cor. 15, 52.

8) Dan. 12, 2.

9) John 5, 28.

tical persons appear before the judgment seat of Christ, *that every one may receive the things done in his body.*¹⁾

In these statements of Scripture the universality of the resurrection is also set forth. *We must ALL appear before the judgment seat of Christ.*²⁾ *There shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust,*³⁾ and before the Son of man *shall be gathered all nations.*⁴⁾ Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, the victims of the deluge and Noah whose warnings they despised, Isaac and Ishmael, Jacob and Esau, Moses and the Israelites, Pharaoh and his host, Herod and the infants of Bethlehem, the martyrs of all ages and their persecutors, parents and children, rulers and subjects, preachers and hearers, employers and employed, all men without exception, and every man in his personal identity, will be where St. John *saw the dead, small and great, stand before God.*⁵⁾

This very identity, however, will involve an equally real diversity. Though all will rise, they will not rise in the same condition. As in this life there are two distinct classes of men, believers and unbelievers, so in the resurrection there will be two corresponding classes of men; *they that have done good shall come forth unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation,*⁶⁾ or, as the prophet says, *some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.*⁷⁾ Of those who fall asleep in Jesus, the apostle says, *It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body.*⁸⁾ This corruptible must *put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality.*⁹⁾ This spiritual body will be a real, material body. Paul says that Christ *shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body.*¹⁰⁾ But of his glorious body Christ says,

1) 2 Cor. 5, 10; cf. Matt. 25, 35 f. 42 f. Rev. 20, 12.

2) 2 Cor. 5, 10.

3) Acts 24, 15.

4) Matt. 25, 32.

5) Rev. 20, 12.

6) John 5, 29.

7) Dan. 12, 2.

8) 1 Cor. 15, 44.

9) 1 Cor. 15, 53.

10) Phil. 3, 21.

*A spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have.*¹⁾ The human body as now constituted would be capable neither of the bliss and glory of heaven, nor of the everlasting torments of hell. In the resurrection of the dead, God will provide for the righteous as well as for the wicked such bodies as will be adapted to their future state. In like manner, the bodies of those who shall live to witness Christ's coming and the resurrection of the dead will be changed.²⁾ And all this will be brought about instantaneously, *in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump: for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed.*³⁾

FINAL JUDGMENT.

After the resurrection of the dead and the transmutation of those who shall live to see the last day, all nations shall be gathered before the Son of man, the Judge of the quick and the dead. In human courts for the administration of justice the guilt or innocence of those who are arraigned before the tribunal of the court is established by the evidence submitted in substantiation or denial of the charge. It is by the evidence, parol or circumstantial, that the facts of the case are made known to the human judge or jury. There will be no need of evidence for this purpose in the judgment of the last day. For to the Judge of the quick and the dead all things are known. *All things are naked and open to the eyes of him with whom we have to do.*⁴⁾ He who in the days of his humiliation *knew what was in man*⁵⁾ will also know what was in those who shall stand before his judgment seat. Neither will there be any need of first determining questions of law before judgment can be rendered in that court. For the rule which shall then and there be applied has long since been laid down in plain terms by the

1) Luke 24, 39. 2) 1 Thess. 4, 15—17. 1 Cor. 15, 51 f. 2 Cor. 5, 4.
3) 1 Cor. 15, 52. 4) Hebr. 4, 13; cf. John 21, 17. 5) John 2, 25.

Judge himself: saying, *He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.*¹⁾ There being then neither questions of fact nor questions of law to be investigated and settled, the Judge will at once proceed to the judgment, κρίσις, the judicial separation or discernment of guilt and innocence. *He shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats: and he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left.*²⁾ This separation will be final. To be placed on the right hand of the Judge will be a declaration of righteousness, as to be placed at his left hand will be a declaration of unrighteousness, in either case a judgment of which there will be no revision and from which there can be no appeal. This judgment rendered, all will be ready for the sentence.

But the last day will not only be a day of judgment; it is also to be *ἡμέρα ἀποκαλύψεως δικαιοκρισίας τοῦ θεοῦ*, a *day of revelation of the righteous judgment of God*. Judgment is righteous when it is an application of the norm in accordance with the facts, when it acquits him who is in compliance, and condemns him who is at variance, with the norm according to which they must both be judged. And here the evidence of which the omniscient Judge was not in need in order to render righteous judgment will be exhibited in order to manifest the righteousness of his judgment before those who are not omniscient. As faith or unbelief will then be, as it now is, invisible to created eyes, the outward fruits of both, whereby they manifested themselves before men, will then be made to bear witness before men and angels to the faith by which the righteous are justified and to the unbelief because of which the wicked are condemned. For thus will the King say to them on his right hand, *I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger, and ye*

1) Mark 16, 16.

2) Matt. 25, 32 f.

took me in; naked, and ye clothed me; I was sick, and ye visited me; I was in prison, and ye came unto me. . . . Verily I say unto you, *Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.*¹⁾ The works of love by which their faith was active, and which were recorded in heaven²⁾ when they were performed on earth and forgotten, will be brought forward, not by the righteous, to prove their righteousness, but by the Judge, to prove his righteousness, the righteousness of his judgment. In like manner the failure of the unbelievers to bring the fruits of true faith, their uncharitable conduct toward their fellowmen, will also be called to witness to the unbelief which was in them and by which they not only failed to do good works, but also rejected the saving grace of God in Christ Jesus, and are, therefore, justly condemned.³⁾

With the judgment and the evidence, the sentence, also, of the last day will be in full accord. It will be a twofold sentence. First, the King shall say unto them on his right hand, *Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.*⁴⁾ Having believed, they shall be saved, saved by grace. The Judge will award to them the kingdom prepared for them, not by themselves, but by himself, and not as a remuneration for their works, but as an *inheritance*, which comes to them as heirs, being the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus.⁵⁾ Then shall he say also unto them on the left hand, *Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.*⁶⁾ Having lived and died in unbelief, they shall be damned, damned because they rejected God's saving grace and, refusing to be children of God, remained subjects of the devil and must, in everlasting fire, share his just punishment. This twofold sentence is a

1) Matt. 25, 35. 36. 40.

2) Gal. 5, 6. — Rev. 20, 12.

3) Matt. 25, 42 ff.

4) Matt. 25, 34.

5) Gal. 3, 26. Rom. 8, 16. 17. 1 Pet. 1, 3—5.

6) Matt. 25, 41.

righteous sentence; for the Judge is a righteous judge, and the justice of his sentence is again borne out before men and angels by the testimony. The good works of the righteous will bear witness to them that they are their Father's children, and it is proper that they should be in their Father's house, where mansions have been prepared for them. And the evil works of the wicked will testify that, having done the works of their father, they are of their father, the devil,¹⁾ and it is meet and right that they should share his abode.

But what of the sins of God's saints? Will not David's adultery and Peter's denial and Paul's persecution of the church of God rise up against them at the last day? Will not even the hidden sins of God's children come forth and make them stand abashed and publicly disgraced? No. The sins of those on the right hand of Christ will not be permitted to testify in the judgment of the last day. We have God's promise, *I, even I, am he that blotteth out thy transgressions for mine own sake, and will not remember thy sins.*²⁾ Every one who is justified by faith may rest assured that in the last judgment *all his transgressions that he hath committed, they shall not be mentioned unto him.*³⁾ For of him it is said, *Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered,*⁴⁾ and what God has covered, neither man nor devil shall uncover. Whatever, therefore, may have been our shortcomings, if we but abide in Christ by faith, his righteousness covering all our iniquities, we may take comfort in the words of St. John, saying, *And now, little children, abide in him, that, when he shall appear, we may have confidence, and not be ashamed before him at his coming.*⁵⁾

And the apparently good works of hypocrites, whereby they may have deceived their fellowmen in this life? Their testimony too will not be admitted in the court of the last

1) John 8, 41. 44.

2) Is. 43, 25.

3) Ezek. 18, 22.

4) Ps. 32, 1; cf. Rom. 4, 6—8.

5) 1 John 2, 28.

day, and though it be offered, it will be rejected, ruled out by the Judge; for they are false witnesses. Though many will say in that day, *Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name? and in thy name cast out devils? and in thy name done many wonderful works?* the Judge will profess unto them, *I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity.*¹⁾

Judgment having been rendered and the sentence pronounced, execution will immediately follow. There will be no revision of the judgment, no modification of the sentence, no suspension of the execution, no more mercy,²⁾ forbearance, and long-suffering, but prompt and speedy execution. The condemned shall go away into everlasting punishment, and the righteous into life eternal.³⁾ And the angels of God shall execute the judgment of the Son of man.⁴⁾

THE END OF THE WORLD.

The harvest at which the angels of God will render their last services on earth will be *the end of the world.*⁵⁾ The day of the resurrection of the dead will be *the last day.*⁶⁾ Then *heaven and earth shall pass away, παρελεύσονται.*⁷⁾ The present world will become a thing of the past. This is the meaning of *παρέρχεσθαι*. That which has passed away is no more. Thus St. John says, *The first heaven and the first earth were passed away, παρῆλθαν, and there was no more sea, οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι.*⁸⁾ To have passed away and to be no more are synonymous terms. Thus also the end of a thing is the termination or ceasing of its existence, and when the *END of the world*⁵⁾ shall come, the world shall cease to exist. In like manner, the psalmist, speaking of heaven and earth, says, *They shall perish, but thou shalt endure . . . and thy*

1) Matt. 7, 22. 23; cf. Matt. 25, 44. 45.

2) James 2, 13.

3) Matt. 25, 46.

4) Matt. 13, 39. 40. 49 f.

5) Matt. 13, 39; 24, 3. 14. 1 Cor. 15, 24.

6) John 6, 40. 44; 11, 24.

7) Luke 21, 33; cf. Matt. 24, 35; 5, 18. 2 Pet. 3, 10.

8) Rev. 21, 1.

*years shall have no end.*¹⁾ Here *to perish* and *to endure*, *to have no end*, are in contrast, and when heaven and earth are placed into this contrast to God and his endless existence, and it is in this connection said of them that *they shall perish*, the meaning is certainly that they shall not endure, but that their years shall have an end. When heaven and earth shall have perished, they shall be no longer and nowhere; there will be *found no place for them.*²⁾ When, in the commotion of the last day, *the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light,*³⁾ the extinction of their light will coincide with the extinction of the luminaries themselves; *the stars shall fall from heaven*, because *the powers of the heavens shall be shaken;*⁴⁾ the forces which have held them in their courses in the firmament of heaven will be withdrawn, and the universe will come down with a tremendous crash.⁵⁾ The debris will not be used for building a new cosmos, but will be set afire, and *the elements will melt with fervent heat; the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up,*⁶⁾ and *the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved.*⁷⁾

What is thus clearly taught concerning the final destruction of heaven and earth is not contradicted by the statement of the psalmist saying that *they shall be changed;*⁸⁾ for in the preceding context he says, *All of them shall wax old as a garment; as a vesture shalt thou change them.*⁹⁾ Now, a garment which has grown old is changed by laying it aside, that a new one may take its place. Thus, also, the present heaven and earth shall be made to pass away, not by spontaneously passing out of existence, but by the final disposition of Him who called them into being, and who will *create new heavens and a new earth,*¹⁰⁾ to take their place. This new universe shall never pass away, and those

1) Ps. 102, 26 f; cf. Hebr. 1, 11 f.

3) Matt. 24, 29.

6) Ibid.

9) Ibid.

4) Ibid.

7) 2 Pet. 3, 12.

10) Is. 65, 17. 2 Pet. 3, 13. Rev. 21, 1.

2) Rev. 20, 11.

5) 2 Pet. 3, 10.

8) Ps. 102, 26.

who shall dwell therein, shall inhabit it for ever. *For as the new heavens and the new earth, which I will make, shall remain before me, saith the Lord, so shall your seed and your name remain.*¹⁾ Neither shall the new earth ever be an abode of sin and disease and death. *We, according to his promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.*²⁾

Such, then, will be the consummation of all things. The beginning of all things was the creation of heaven and earth, and of angels and men to inhabit them. The end will be the destruction of heaven and earth, part of the angels and men whom God has made being consigned to their eternal doom in hell, and another part of the angels and men being led in triumph to their eternal abode in a new heaven and a new earth which God shall make, and which shall endure for ever.

ETERNAL DAMNATION.

The punishment of the damned, to which they will be consigned at the end of time, will be shame and everlasting contempt, and endless torment of body and soul, with the devil and his angels in the fire of hell. Having risen *to shame and everlasting contempt*,³⁾ and their sentence being, *Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels*, they will have no share in the glory and honor which awaits the righteous in the company of the holy angels. Reaping the fruits of what they have sown,⁴⁾ it is but proper that they should stand disgraced. Even in this present world and life, sin and crime bring shame and ignominy upon those who have committed them or are held responsible for them, and many a man or woman has preferred death to the humiliation of having to bear this retribution for sin or crime in the eyes

1) Is. 66, 22.

2) 2 Pet. 3, 13.

3) Dan. 12, 2.

4) Gal. 6, 7 f.

of friends and enemies. As in the present life to be associated with criminals and vile companions is disgracing and is felt to be so even by the criminals themselves, so it will be a part of the just retribution of the damned that they will be confined in close companionship not only with the very scum and dregs of mankind, but with the *unclean spirits*,¹⁾ the devil and his angels, the *murderer from the beginning*,²⁾ the *liar*, and the *father of it*,³⁾ and all his infernal host.

But hell is also a *place of torment*,⁴⁾ where the wicked *shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever*,⁵⁾ and *the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever, and they have no rest day nor night*,⁶⁾ where, in *outer darkness*, *there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth*,⁷⁾ where *their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched*.⁸⁾ In this life, sin, while it may bring shame upon the sinner and fines and imprisonment and the lash and chains and hard labor and loathsome and painful disease, is not without pleasure, the pleasures of the winecup and the dance, of the gambler's gain and the miser's hoard and the robber's booty and the murderer's revenge and the tyrant's sway. In hell there will be only torment, no comfort, no rest, not a drop of water to cool the parched and burning tongue. And this unmitigated torment will be inflicted upon *both soul and body in hell*.⁹⁾ As in this world sin reigned in the mortal body, and the sinner yielded his *members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin*,¹⁰⁾ so in hell, the body, the eyes and ears and tongue and hands and feet that served the soul in sin and shared the pleasures and profits of sinful pursuits, will be made to share the loss, to suffer the fearful penalty of pain and torment of which it will be capable.

Yet in view of all this, hell would not be hell, if it admitted of one thing, hope. But hell is hopeless. The

1) Mark 1, 24. Matt. 10, 1.

4) Luke 16, 28; cf. vv. 23—25.

7) Matt. 8, 12.

10) Rom. 6, 12. 13.

2) John 8, 44.

5) Rev. 20, 10.

8) Is. 66, 24.

3) Ibid.

6) Rev. 14, 11.

9) Matt. 10, 28.

punishment of the damned is *everlasting punishment*,¹⁾ *everlasting destruction*;²⁾ their shame is *everlasting contempt*;³⁾ their *worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched*.⁴⁾ Of Judas, his Savior said, *It had been good for that man if he had not been born*.⁵⁾ This is a fearful sentence. If, after ten thousand times ten thousand years of torment Judas should have expiated his guilt and sin and should then be dismissed from the place of torment and permitted to enter into paradise and enjoy the eternal rest and bliss and glory of the children of God, then it would still be gain, eternal gain, to that man to have been born.

Endless and severe, then, will be the punishment of all the damned. Yet there will be a difference between the damnation of Judas Iscariot and Pontius Pilate. Great was the sin and guilt of the unjust judge who knowingly condemned an innocent man to a malefactor's death. But greater was the sin and guilt of Judas the apostle, of Annas and Caiaphas, of whom Jesus said to Pilate, *He that delivered me unto thee hath the greater sin*.⁶⁾ There are degrees of sin, one sin being more heinous than another, murder and rape more atrocious than theft and fraudulent dealings. And there are degrees of guilt, not only in proportion to the nature of the sin committed, but also in consideration of the responsibility of the sinner. Judas the apostle of Christ and Caiaphas the high priest of Israel were in a higher degree responsible for what they did than Pilate was for his sinful acts. Sodom and Gomorrha, Tyre and Sidon, were wicked cities, but they had not heard the voice of Jesus and had not rejected the message carried by his apostles, as Bethsaida and Chorazin and Capernaum. Hence Christ's announcement to the scribes and Pharisees, *Ye shall receive the greater damnation*,⁷⁾ and to the cities who neglected the time of their visitation, *I say unto you,*

1) Matt. 25, 46.

4) Mark 9, 48.

7) Matt. 23, 14.

2) 2 Thess. 1, 9.

5) Matt. 26, 24.

3) Dan. 12, 2.

6) John 19, 11.

*It shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the day of judgment, than for you,¹⁾ and again, Verily I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrhah in the day of judgment, than for that city.²⁾ It was with a peculiar emphasis that Jesus warned his disciples to be in readiness always for the coming of the Son of man, like unto men that wait for their lord, when he will return from the wedding.³⁾ And when Peter put the question of his conscience, Lord, speakest thou this parable unto us, or even to all?⁴⁾ Christ's answer is another parable *ad hominem* and warning admonition, *The servant, which knew his lord's will, and prepared not himself, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes. But he that knew not, and did commit things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes. For unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required: and to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask the more.⁵⁾**

Thus the retribution meted out in hell will be just in every way. It will be punishment, *every transgression and disobedience receiving a just recompense of reward.⁶⁾ It is eternal punishment. Nothing short of this can be a just recompense of sin. For a sin once committed is sin for ever, and can never be anything but sin. A thousand years of punishment cannot undo it or change it into righteousness. And being sin forever, it must be punished for ever, if it must be punished at all. To say that eternal punishment is incompatible with the purpose of punitive justice, the reform of the culprit, is an error based upon an error. Chastisement aims at the reform of the delinquent, punishment as such, never. It is not reformatory, but vindicative in its nature. *Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord.⁷⁾ At the last day, the Son of man will come as a**

1) Matt. 11, 22.

2) Matt. 10, 15.

3) Luke 12, 36 ff.

4) Luke 12, 41.

5) Luke 12, 47. 48.

6) Hebr. 2, 2.

7) Rom. 12, 19.

Judge, not as a reformer. St. Paul says, *It is a righteous thing with God to RECOMPENSE tribulation to them that trouble you, and to you who are troubled rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire TAKING VENGEANCE on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.*¹⁾ Divine justice will not be put to shame by human justice, which is likewise vindictive where it is punitive. There can be no doubt as to the meaning of the words, *eternal punishment*. Αἰώνιος can here refer to but one aeon, the αἰὼν μέλλων, αἰὼν ἐκείνος, as it describes that which is to come at the end of the world, when the present aeon, αἰὼν οὗτος, shall be over and past. And the coming aeon is endless, eternity. And among the words that shall abide when heaven and earth shall pass away, is also this:—*They shall go away into EVERLASTING punishment; but the righteous into life eternal.*²⁾

ETERNAL LIFE.

The state of God's elect in the world to come will be a state of eternal life with Christ the Lord, with God and his angels, in glory and bliss of body and soul. Eternal life, ζωὴ αἰώνιος,³⁾ is nothing short of endless, everlasting life. It is LIFE, that which God gave man when he made him *a living soul*,⁴⁾ which man forfeited when he fell in the terrestrial paradise, forsaking God and embracing sin. That life will be restored to God's children in the celestial paradise, perfect life in a perfect body and soul, united by the power of God, and living in union and communion with God,⁵⁾ in full possession and control of all the powers and faculties of body and soul, and capable of all the enjoyments peculiar to and accruing from the conscious performance of all the

1) 2 Thess. 1, 6—8.

2) Matt. 25, 46.

3) Matt. 25, 46. Tit. 3, 7. Rom. 6, 23. John 3, 15. 16. 1 John 2, 25 al.

4) Gen. 2, 7.

5) 1 Thess. 4, 17. John 17, 24. 1 John 3, 2. Matt. 5, 8.

functions pertaining to that mode of human existence. *In thy presence is fulness of joy*, says the psalmist; *at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore*; ¹⁾ and the prophet, looking forward to and beyond the end of time, says, *The ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads: they shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away*. ²⁾ There will be pleasures akin to those of a festal board, though new in kind and adapted to the new heaven and earth. This appears from the Savior's words spoken over the Passover board: *I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom*. ³⁾ Indeed, *fruit of the vine*, but *new*. There will also be music and song abundantly. ⁴⁾ There will be the enjoyment of the intellectual sphere, of knowledge and understanding, to which the apostle looks forward, saying, *Now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known*. ⁵⁾ And as our knowledge, so all our doings and enjoyments and our very being will be perfect. *When that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away*. ⁶⁾ We ourselves shall be *just men made perfect*. ⁷⁾ What we shall possess and enjoy will be *an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away*. ⁸⁾ There shall be nothing to mar the bliss of the blessed. *They shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away*. ⁹⁾ *They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more; neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat. And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes*. ¹⁰⁾ *There shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain*. ¹¹⁾ Above all, that which is at the bottom of all pain and anguish, and mildews and withers all our joy and happiness, in this present

1) Ps. 16, 11.

2) Is. 35, 10.

3) Matt. 26, 29.

4) Is. 35, 10. Rev. 5, 8—12.

5) 1 Cor. 13, 12.

6) 1 Cor. 13, 10.

7) Hebr. 12, 23.

8) 1 Pet. 1, 4.

9) Is. 35, 10.

10) Rev. 7, 16, 17.

11) Rev. 21, 4.

life, SIN, shall be no more. There will be in us not only the *posse non peccare* which was in Adam before the fall, but the *non posse peccare* of just men made perfect, of whom the Spirit says, *Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out.*¹⁾ There will be no longer any possibility of apostasy; for the apostle says, *So shall we EVER be with the Lord.*²⁾ And as there will be no sin, there will be no death, nor any fear of death. For we shall enjoy not only the *posse non mori* which was Adam's immortality before the fall, but also the *non posse mori* which the angels of God enjoy in their state of confirmed holiness and bliss. Of the children of the resurrection we read, *Neither CAN they die any more: for they are equal unto the angels, and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection.*³⁾ The grim enemy of life shall never enter the new heaven and earth. *The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death,*⁴⁾ and when *death shall be swallowed up in victory,*⁵⁾ then and henceforth *there shall be no more death.*⁶⁾

Inasmuch as death is the extinction and termination of life, and as there shall be no death in the world to come, our future life will be *life ETERNAL*, *ζωὴ αἰώνιος*,⁷⁾ unceasing, endless, everlasting life. In like manner, our joy will be *everlasting joy*,⁸⁾ our glory, *eternal glory*,⁹⁾ an *eternal weight of glory*,¹⁰⁾ our inheritance, an *eternal inheritance*,¹¹⁾ an *inheritance incorruptible*,¹²⁾ our crown a *crown of glory that fadeth not away*.¹³⁾ This assurance of being, after all the dangers and hardships of a voyage in a frail ship buffeted by winds and waves, at last for ever safe at home will be in itself a source of unspeakable bliss. There shall be neither fear nor hope in the world to come; no fear, because there

1) Rev. 3, 12.

2) 1 Thess. 4, 17.

3) Luke 20, 36.

4) 1 Cor. 15, 26.

5) 1 Cor. 15, 54.

6) Rev. 21, 4.

7) Matt. 25, 46.

Tit. 3, 7. Rom. 6, 23. John 3, 15. 16. 1 John 2, 25.

8) Is. 35, 10.

9) 2 Tim. 2, 10. 1 Pet. 5, 10.

10) 2 Cor. 4, 17.

11) Hebr. 9, 15.

12) 1 Pet. 1, 4.

13) 1 Pet. 5, 4.

shall be no possibility of future evil; no hope, because no future blessings to be desired and expected, since we shall have and hold and possess and enjoy to satisfaction and for ever the inheritance of the saints in light.¹⁾

Yet, while we shall all be heirs of salvation, and though our bliss shall be perfect, and our glory great, in eternal life, we shall also differ from each other in various ways. In the world to come Moses will still be Moses, and Elias will be Elias,²⁾ and *in HIS flesh* Job shall see God.³⁾ *Many from the east and west shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven,*⁴⁾ every one of them, as each of the patriarchs, in his personal identity. There will be no propagation in heaven; *for in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage.*⁵⁾ Life in the future world will be a continuation of the same life, though under different conditions, in the present world. And as men pass from this world into the world to come, *their works do follow them.*⁶⁾ Not precede them, to prepare or purchase a place for them in heaven; for Christ has fully accomplished this, and we must not purchase or earn, but inherit the kingdom prepared for us.⁷⁾ But the works of every heir of salvation, which he has done in this life, shall follow him to the life beyond. Not his evil works; for they are cast into the depth of the sea, blotted out, never to be remembered. But of his good works, not one shall be forgotten, not even the cup of cold water given to one of Christ's little ones in the name of a disciple.⁸⁾ And it shall not only be mentioned unto him, but *he shall in no wise lose his reward.*⁹⁾ Christ will make good his promise. *Every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit eternal life.*¹⁰⁾ *Behold, I come quickly; and my re-*

1) Col. 1, 12.

2) Matt. 17, 3, 4.

3) Job 19, 26.

4) Matt. 8, 11.

5) Matt. 22, 30.

6) Rev. 14, 13.

7) Matt. 25, 34.

8) Matt. 10, 42. Mark 9, 41.

9) Ibid.

10) Matt. 19, 29.

*ward is with me, to give every man according as his works shall be.*¹⁾ Here we sow; there we shall reap as we shall have sown. *He which soweth sparingly shall reap also sparingly; and he which soweth bountifully shall reap also bountifully.*²⁾ Thus there shall be degrees of glory in the kingdom of glory. *There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars: for one star differeth from another star in glory. So also in the resurrection of the dead.*³⁾ Yet the greater glory of the one shall not be a cause of envy, but a source of joy to the other. Neither shall they whose crown shall shine with brighter gems exalt themselves; but every one shall say, *The Lord hath done great things for us; whereof we are glad.*⁴⁾ The four and twenty elders shall *fall down before him that sat on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne, saying, Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honor and power: for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created.*⁵⁾ The song of the glorified elect shall be as the new song which St. John was permitted to hear: *Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof; for thou wert slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation, and hast made us unto our God kings and priests. . . . Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and glory, and blessing.*⁶⁾

Thus shall the eternal glory of the righteous redound to the eternal glory of Him to whose cross and crown of thorns we shall owe our bliss and our crowns of glory, and whom, with immortal tongues, we shall for ever praise, our Savior and our God.

SOLI DEO GLORIA!

A. G.

1) Rev. 22, 12.

4) Ps. 126, 3.

2) 2 Cor. 9, 6.

5) Rev. 4, 10. 11.

3) 1 Cor. 15, 41 f.

6) Rev. 5, 8—12.

STATE AND CHURCH IN AMERICAN COLONIES.¹⁾

The greatest blessing on earth, next to the Gospel pure and undefiled, is religious liberty, or the freedom of conscience and worship. The first, the pure Gospel, is a gift of the Lutheran Reformation in Germany; the second, the boon of religious liberty and equality, is fully granted and enjoyed in America. It is the result of our complete separation of State and Church the functions of which never clash, when kept within their proper spheres. And this separation of State and Church in America is an ideal conceived by Luther and a remote fruit of his Reformation. Luther clearly saw the fundamental difference between matters temporal and spiritual, civil and religious, political and ecclesiastical. The doctrine of the freedom and independence of both State and Church is not merely implied in, and inferred from, Lutheran conceptions of the secular and ecclesiastical powers, but plainly expressed and emphatically and repeatedly asserted by Luther and our Lutheran confessions.

We read in Article XVIII of the Augsburg Confession: "Inasmuch, then, as the power of the church or of the bishops confers eternal gifts, and is exercised and exerted only by the ministry, it cannot by any means interfere with civil polity and government. For the latter relates to matters entirely different from the Gospel, and protects with its power not the souls of men, but their bodies and possessions against external violence, by the sword and bodily penalties." The Apology of the Augsburg Confession, speaking in Article XVI of the great difference between the civil kingdom and the kingdom of Christ, describes the relation of a Christian toward the state as similar to his relation

1) The Rise of Religious Liberty in America. A History by SANFORD H. COBB. The Macmillan Company. 541 pages. \$4.00 net. — This book, which has suggested our article, and from which we shall freely quote, is replete with facts instructive and interesting to all lovers of religious liberty, as well as to students of its history.

toward the arts of medicine and architecture. As early as 1523 Luther declared that religious belief is a matter of conscience; that civil magistrates should let everybody believe what he chooses; that it is the duty of ministers, and not of magistrates, to protect the people against heresies; and that spiritual effects cannot be produced by physical force, but by the Word of God only. Luther wrote: "Weltliche Gewalt soll lassen glauben sonst oder so, wie man kann und will, und niemand mit Gewalt dringen. . . . Das (den Ketzern wehren, dass sie die Leute mit falscher Lehre nicht verführen) sollen die Bischöfe thun; denen ist solch Amt befohlen und nicht den Fürsten. . . . Ketzerei ist ein geistlich Ding, das kann man mit keinem Eisen hauen, mit keinem Feuer verbrennen, mit keinem Wasser ertränken. Es ist aber allein Gottes Wort da, das thut's, wie Paulus sagt 2 Cor. 10, 4. 5." (Walch, X, 455.) Two years later Luther maintained that civil magistrates have no right to hinder anyone in believing or teaching what he desires, be it Gospel or falsehoods. Says Luther: "Oberkeit soll nicht wehren, was jedermann lehren und glauben will, es sei Evangelium oder Lügen; ist genug, dass sie Aufruhr und Unfried zu lehren wehren." (XIV, 64.) In 1528 Luther remarked that the appointment of church officers was not a duty embraced in the civil power ("weltlicher Obrigkeit") of the Duke of Saxony. (X, 1905.) In the following year Luther declared that the Emperor was not the Head of Christendom, and had no right to interfere in matters of faith. "Des Kaisers Schwert" — says Luther — "hat nichts zu schaffen mit dem Glauben, es gehört in leibliche, weltliche Sachen, auf dass nicht Gott auf uns zornig werde, so wir seine Ordnung verkennen." (XX, 2665.) In one of his letters of 1530 Luther readily admits that a prince has no right to prohibit the Roman Catholic mass: "Fürstlich Amt streckt sich nicht dahin, solches (die Winkelmesse) zu wehren." In another letter of the same year Luther protests that a prince has no right to impose anything upon

the church. He writes: "Episcopus ut episcopus nullam habet potestatem super ecclesiam suam ullius traditionis aut ceremoniae imponendae, nisi consensu ecclesiae vel expresso vel tacito. Episcopus ut *princeps* multo minus potest super ecclesiam imponere quidquam, quia hoc esset prorsus confundere has duas potestates, et tum vere esset allotrioepiscopus, et nos si admitteremus eum, essemus paris sacrilegii rei. Ibi potius est moriendum contra hanc iniquitatem et impietatem." That it is not a privilege of magistrates to appoint ministers Luther maintains in a letter of 1536 saying: "Vocatio et electio ministrorum praedicationis purae non est proprie et principaliter magistratus, sed ecclesiae." A few years later Luther could no longer refrain from expressing his conviction that church government by the state, as already conducted by the princes ("wie sie denn jetzt thun"), would prove disastrous to Christianity. (VII, 1745.) "Wir müssen das Consistorium zerreißen," Luther is reported to have said in his Table Talk. Until his death he protested against ruling the church by civil courts. In a letter of 1543 Luther wrote with respect to the consistories: "Desinant vocationes confundere, suas aulas curent, ecclesias relinquunt his, qui ad eas vocati sunt. Distincta volumus officia ecclesiae et aulae. Satan pergit esse satan. Sub papa miscuit ecclesiam politiae, sub nostro tempore vult miscere politiam ecclesiae."

From this it will appear that Mr. Cobb was not sufficiently acquainted with the facts, when he comments on the distinction made by the Augsburg Confession between State and Church: "The chief stress in the distinction is laid upon the impropriety of ecclesiastical interference in civil affairs, which was the special aspect of the question at that day. It fails to warn the state against interference with the Church, though it in no place recognizes that the civil power has a duty against heresy. In these respects the Augsburg Confession was far in advance of the later confessions of the Reformed churches." Mr. Cobb fails

to note that Luther emphatically and persistently opposed state interference in matters ecclesiastical, and that the establishment of consistories and state churches in Lutheran countries was not in keeping with the teaching of Luther and the Lutheran confessions. — Wherever and whenever Lutherans, theoretically or practically, have refused religious liberty and equality to others, they have done so by ignoring or denying their own principles. A true and consistent Lutheran stands, and always must stand, for complete separation of State and Church and for freedom of conscience and worship to all. In America, Lutherans are frequently spoken of as "foreigners;" the truth is, that the spirit and principles of the Lutheran Church are in perfect harmony with the American idea of liberty. And if religious liberty is viewed as an essential characteristic of what has been called the American spirit, then liberty-loving Lutheranism is in perfect agreement with Americanism, which cannot be said of consistent Reformedism or Calvinism, not to speak of Romanism.

The Reformed and Calvinistic spirit has always been, and is to this very day, foreign and inimical to the complete separation of State and Church. The principles and doctrines of the Reformed churches call for establishments of state-churches or church-states, as well as civil suppression of heresy. Wherever and whenever an Episcopalian, a Congregationalist, or a Presbyterian has espoused the cause of religious liberty and equality, he was inconsistent, and proved ignorant of, or untrue and indifferent to, his own teaching. Even to this day the absolute separation of Church and State in America is a matter more of temporary expediency than of principle with Reformed and Catholic churches. This is apparent from their repeated attempts at introducing religious instruction into public schools, from the inimical sectarian attitude toward parochial schools, and the persistent endeavors of Catholics to secure public funds for their private schools and institu-

tions. Whoever is acquainted with the periodical literature of the Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Episcopalians cannot but be impressed by the fact, that, to a great extent, these Reformed bodies regard the absolute separation of Church and State as a detriment rather than a blessing. The Reformed churches are not the bulwark of American liberty they claim to be; their doctrines and principles call for interference, not separation of Church and State. A consistent Calvinist and Reformedist may imagine that he is a true American; in reality, he is a foreigner in the land of liberty and religious equality.

There has been no dissent in the Reformed churches as to the relation of State and Church. Zwinglius was ever ready to appeal to civil and military power. In Zurich, Church and State were practically identical. In Geneva, Calvin explicitly demanded that heresy be suppressed and punished by the civil authorities. For denying the Trinity Servetus was burnt at the stake in 1553, Calvin consenting. The First Helvetic Confession of 1536 declares: "The chief office of the magistrate is to defend religion, and to take care that the Word of God be purely preached." The French Confession of 1559: "God hath put the sword into the hands of magistrates to suppress crimes against the first, as well as the second, table of the law of God." The Belgic Confession of 1561 declared the magistrate vested with power "to remove and destroy all idolatry and false service of God." The Second Helvetic Confession: "We hold also that the care of religion is a first duty of a religious magistrate." The First Confession in Scotland: "To kings, princes, rulers, and magistrates we affirm, that chiefly, and most principally, the conservation and purgation of the religion appertains." The Westminster Confession: "The civil magistrate may not assume to himself the administration of the Word and sacraments, or the power of the keys of the kingdom of heaven; yet he hath authority, and it is his duty to take order that unity and

peace be preserved in the Church, that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed, all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline prevented or reformed, and all the ordinances of God duly settled, administered, and observed. For the better effecting whereof, he hath power to call synods, to be present at them, and to provide that whatever is transacted in them be according to the Word of God." The Church of England was "a creation of the civil power and subject for creed, government, and discipline to the final authority of the magistrate." According to Mr. Cobb the elements of the Anglican establishment are: "1. The supremacy of the crown. All high offices in the Church are matters of royal gift. 2. Complete control of parliament over the Church, as to articles of faith, order, worship, and discipline. 3. Membership of bishops in the upper house of legislature. 4. National support of the Church. 5. The broad membership in the Church, conditioned on citizenship, and not on personal faith or character. 6. Patronage in the Church—the right of presentation to livings without regard to the wishes of parishioners."—Religious intolerance and suppression of heresy by civil magistrates was a principle of the Reformed churches in Switzerland, France, Holland, England, and Scotland.

The early Puritan and Episcopalian colonists in America had imbibed the same doctrines, and were imbued with the same spirit of intolerance as their parents and brethren in Europe. And tenaciously they clung to their false ideals, until by sheer force of circumstances they were compelled to give them up reluctantly. True, the Pilgrim Fathers and Puritans sought and obtained freedom to worship God. But they never dreamed of extending the same liberty to others. What they wanted was a state in which their own religious views should be a law to all. They longed for a place where they could be and do what the Episcopal Church was and did in England. In Churchmen the Puritans had

condemned the desire to compel others to conform to Episcopal views. In themselves it seemed a just and holy desire to force on others Puritan views, because—so they reasoned—they stood for truth and the Church of England for error. The great principle that spiritual truths must not, and cannot, be enforced by physical power never entered their minds. Mr. Cobb writes: "We need not be surprised, then, to find the most of the colonists in hearty sympathy with that principle. Some of them, indeed, had suffered through its application; but in their view that suffering was a consequence, not of a vicious principle, but of a wicked application of a principle which was very right and necessary. These men had no doubt as to the propriety of a legal insistence upon a prescribed form of worship, supposing that form to be the true form of worship. The impropriety and wrong of persecution were to be decided, not by any inherent vice of persecution itself, but by the character of the doctrine persecuted. If the doctrine were false, then persecution of it were justified. If the doctrine were true, persecution became wicked. Thus, to the minds of the fathers of Massachusetts it was clear, both that the English authorities were criminal in persecuting them, and that they were right in their measures against the Brownes and Mrs. Hutchinson; because they, both as persecuted and as persecutors, represented the truth."

The teaching of leading Puritans in Massachusetts on religious liberty was in perfect agreement with the utterances already quoted from the Reformed confessions. Mr. Cobb, quoting from Force and Felt, writes: "To the early leaders of Massachusetts, especially the religious leaders, toleration of dissent from the 'established order' of religious worship was as sedition in the state and sin against God. John Cotton declared that 'it was Toleration that made the world anti-Christian.' There are many choice specimens of this repressive spirit in Nathaniel Ward's (1645) 'Simple Cobler of Aggawam in America.' 'I take upon me,' he says, 'to

proclaim to all Familists, Antinomians (&c.), to keep away from us; and such as will come, to be gone; the sooner the better.' 'Polipiety (a variety of sects) is the greatest impiety in the world.' One other specimen of the Cobler's spirit should not fail of quotation, 'He that is willing to tolerate any unsound opinion, that his own may be tolerated, though never so sound, will for a need hang God's Bible at the Devil's girdle.' This sentiment showed a marvelous tenacity, very slowly yielding to the influences of more liberal thought; and so late as 1673 President Oakes, of Harvard College, said in an election sermon, 'I look upon unbounded Toleration as the first-born of all abominations.' To a letter from England, urging tolerance, Cotton replied: "We believe there is a vast difference between men's inventions and God's instances. We fled from men's inventions, to which we should else have been compelled. We compel none to men's inventions." Cotton argued thus: "It is not right to persecute any for conscience' sake rightly informed. For an erroneous conscience it is not lawful to persecute any, till after admonition once or twice. The Word of God is so clear, that he cannot but be convinced of his error. If such a man still persist in the error of his way, he is persecuted for sinning against his own conscience." Again Nathaniel Ward: "God doth nowhere in His word tolerate Christian States to give Toleration to adversaries of His Truth, if they had power in their hands to prevent them. . . . My heart hath naturally detested Toleration of divers Religions or of one Religion in segregant shapes. He that unwillingly assents to it, if he examines his heart by daylight, his Conscience will tell him he is either an Atheist, or an Heretick, or an Hypocrite, or at best a captive to some Lust.'" England was liberal compared with Massachusetts. "Old England is becoming New, New England is becoming Old." This was the characteristic subtitle of a pamphlet written 1652, in which Clarke describes the persecutions in Massachusetts.

Compared with other Congregationalists and with Episcopalians the Pilgrim Fathers at *Plymouth* were liberal and tolerant. Their object was "a pure and distinct congregation," and religious liberty which had been denied to them in England. Attempts to force on others their own religious views were few and weak. However, the magistrates interfered in church affairs. Romanists, Jesuits, Socinians, Jews, and others were excluded from the jurisdiction. A law of 1671 ordered that applicants for the franchise must be "orthodox in fundamentals." In 1646 the general court resolved "that something be done to maintain the liberties of the churches." In 1651 Howland was presented by the grand jury "for not frequenting the public assemblage on the Lord's Day." In the Plymouth legislature of 1643 a proposition was made "for a full and free toleration of religion to all men, without exception against Turk, Jew, Papist, Socinian, Familist, or any other,"—but not adopted. A few Quakers were banished, others fined, and one was whipped. The Plymouth Congregationalists disapproved of the severer actions of the Puritans in Boston. Mrs. Hutchinson, banished from Boston, was tolerated by the Plymouth Pilgrims. The Puritans in Boston again criticised the men of Plymouth for too great laxity in religious matters, and in 1656 protested against their tolerance of "Quakers, Ranters, and other notorious heretics." This relative tolerance at Plymouth, however, was more a matter of sentiment and doctrinal indifference than principle. To a great extent it was due to the following causes: 1. the toleration the Pilgrims had enjoyed among Dutch and French Protestants at Leyden; 2. the admonition of their pastor, Robinson, to be liberal and tolerant in America toward "unconformable ministers;" 3. the small and homogeneous population at Plymouth, offering little occasion for severity.

When the Puritans embarked for *Massachusetts*, they bade farewell to England with expressions of love for the Episcopal Church. They were no separatists as the Plym-

outh Pilgrims, but tried to reform the Church of England from within. Endicott, too, who was sent out in advance "to begin this wilderness work," declared before his departure: "We will not say as the Separatists, 'Farewell, Babylon! Farewell, Rome!' But we say, 'Farewell, dear England! Farewell, the Church of God in England!'" On their arrival in Massachusetts, however, the Puritans immediately separated from the Church of England, and "formed themselves into a church state." One of the first articles adopted treats of the "duty and power of the magistrates in matters of religion." John Cotton describes the government of Massachusetts as a theocracy in the commonwealth as well as in the church. The legislative body resolved to build homes and make provision for ministers "at the public expense." In 1638 it was enacted that "all inhabitants are liable to assessment for Church as well as for State." In 1631 a law was passed that members of Congregational churches in good and regular standing only should be admitted as free citizens. In 1665 the enfranchised population outnumbered the freemen five to one. The "Half-Way Covenant" of 1662 relieved this political condition by widening the doors of the church and admitting "unconverted" baptized members to the communion. To save the Church-state the Church was corrupted. In 1635 it was enacted that no church should be organized without consent of the magistrates, and that members of churches not approved of by the magistrates should not be admitted to the freedom of the commonwealth. Preaching by unauthorized persons and before unauthorized societies was prohibited. In 1641 the following principle was adopted: "It is the duty of the Christian magistrate to take care that the people be fed with wholesome and sound doctrine." Similar declarations were made in 1658, 1660, and 1668. The law of 1692 requires the court to "take care that no town is destitute of a minister." The "Cambridge Platform" of 1648 was ratified by the general court in 1651.

This statute made every attempt to institute another form of worship than Congregationalism a punishable offense. In 1653 the court enacted that no one should preach "without the approbation of the elders of four the next churches, or of the county court." In the following year the general court ordered that all books of John Reeves and Ludowick Muggleton (both Quakers) should be delivered to the magistrates, on pain of £10 fine for failure. In 1659 the observance of Christmas was made a punishable offense.

Mr. Cobb writes: "Under the earlier conditions which the more rigid of the second and third generation strove to maintain, there was much legislation, both to support the Church as an establishment, and to conserve the religious character of the community. Thus, very early, the law of domicile guarded against strangers and required all people to live within easy distance of the meeting-house, so that all could attend worship. In 1646 the Act against Heresy ordained that any person denying the immortality of the soul, or the resurrection, or sin in the regenerate, or the need of repentance, or the redemption by Christ, or justification through Christ, or the morality of the fourth commandment, or the baptism of infants, or 'who shall purposely depart the congregation at the administration of that ordinance,' or shall endeavor to seduce others to any of these heresies, should be banished. In the same year, contemptuous conduct toward the word or preacher was made punishable; for the first offense, by a public reproof from the magistrate and bonds for good behavior; for the second offense, by five shillings fine, or by 'standing on a block four feet high,' having on the breast a placard with the words, — 'An Open and Obstinate Contemner of God's Holy Ordinances.'" "By the same law non-attendance on divine service was punished by a fine of five shillings. In 1656 it was enacted that any person denying any of the books of the Bible should be whipped or fined, and, if obstinate, banished. The law of 1697 against 'Blasphemy and Atheism'

is remarkable both for the ingenuity of its penalties, and as an indication that only a sense of waning religious power in the magistrate could so express itself. In the act, which finds both atheism and blasphemy in 'denying the true God,' various penalties are awarded; surety for good behavior, imprisonment for six months, the pillory, whipping, boring the tongue with a hot iron, and sitting on the gallows with a rope about the neck, at the discretion of the court; provided that not more than two of such penalties be inflicted for one and the same offense. Of course, under the general law Roman Catholics were not suffered to live in the colony. In 1647 Jesuits were forbidden to enter the colony. If any should come, they were at once to be banished; if they returned, to be put to death."

When the Brownes instituted a service according to the Book of Common Prayer, Endicott caused them to be put on a ship and returned to England. The company in England refused to redress these wrongs, and in their Instructions of 1629 encouraged Endicott to suppress errors and differences of opinion. In 1635 Roger Williams, pastor of the Salem Church, was banished, because he had denounced the existing theocracy and interference of magistrates with religious matters. The synod of 1637 condemned the opinions of Mrs. Hutchinson and her brother as heretical, and both were banished by the Boston court in the same year. A little later Gorton was arrested, conveyed to Boston, brought to trial on "twenty-six blasphemous particulars," thrown into prison, and barely escaped death. In 1644 Briscoe was gravely admonished by the general court, because he had published a pamphlet against the church-tax. In 1646 Dr. Robert Child and others petitioned for religious freedom; they were fined for refusing to apologize and withdraw their petition. In 1650 Pynchon was summoned to answer for a book written by him on atonement. The court ordered that the book be burned and Pynchon put under bonds of £100 to appear the next May. Disgusted,

Pyncheon returned to England. In a similar manner and for similar reasons Rev. Matthews and others were punished. In 1651 Clarke and Holmes, both Baptists, held religious services in a private house in Lynn. For this they were arrested, sent to Boston, thrown in prison, fined £20 each, and Holmes, refusing to pay, was "whipped unmercifully." In 1657 Mr. Dunster, former President of Harvard, was summoned by the court for not having his child baptized. In the preceding year eleven Quaker women were arrested, sent to prison, and their books were burned. The Quakers William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, Mary Dyer, and William Leddra were executed 1659. Mr. Cobb writes of the laws enacted against the Quakers: "At the October session of the general court in 1656 began a series of laws against them, growing more and more severe and culminating, two years after, in the doom of death on persistent return after banishment. Under these statutes Quakers, coming into the colony, and before the commission of any offense besides that of coming, were to be thrown into jail, whipped with twenty stripes, and kept at work until transported or banished. Shipmasters bringing any of the sect were to be fined £100. Any person entertaining, encouraging, or concealing Quakers was to be fined forty shillings 'for each hour of entertainment.' For the poor sectaries themselves, to the fines were added whipping, mutilation, banishment, and death. The doom of death 'barely secured enactment by a majority of one,' and this only because of the illness of a deputy from Dorchester."—In 1665 a number of Baptists were imprisoned, because they refused to give up their services. In 1668 the general court of Boston sentenced the sect to banishment. But the law was not enforced, because the church had lost its hold on the people, who were opposed to persecutions.

In *Connecticut* a constitution was adopted in 1639, which declares it the duty of civil government "to maintain the liberty and purity of the gospel." Here, too, Con-

gregationalism was the church established, though not as a theocracy or Church-state, but as a State-church. All inhabitants were assessed for the support of the establishment. Other forms of worship, however, were not excluded. The Saybrook Platform of 1708, adopted by the Saybrook Synod and the general court of Connecticut, reestablishes Congregationalism and gives liberty of worship and discipline to all "who soberly differ or dissent" from the established churches. Religion or church-membership was not a condition of citizenship, which was acquired by inhabitancy, and later by a general vote of the town. Mr. Cobb writes: "What we note, then, in the story of this colonial establishment is, not the spirit of repression toward variant opinion, but a benevolent and fatherly care and watchfulness over the interests of the church. The care was intimate, concerning itself with many minor items: the erection of meeting-houses, the calling and support of ministers, the location and boundary of parishes, the composition of any troubles arising in the affairs of any parish. The care was shown also, not only by the enactment of general laws, but by the action of the general court in an endless number of individual cases. Everything touching church management, any change in church or meeting-house, from one end of the commonwealth to the other, was brought to the legislature for its direction or permission. Any wrong suffered by any individual by way of discipline found its echo in the general court. Any disturbance in a church soon brought the paternal bidding of the court to consider the things which make for peace. To one looking over the colonial records it seems as though there could possibly arise no contingency in church affairs, which did not appear at some time and some place in Connecticut, and find the general court prompt to examine, to advise, and then, if need be, to command."—Church-attendance was compulsory; on absence there was a penalty of five shillings. Acts requiring the celebration of Sunday were passed in 1702,

1712, 1721, 1750, and 1770. In 1714 stringent orders were given to constables to enforce the laws about catechizing, public worship, profane swearing, distribution of Bibles, and the "Act to prevent unseasonable meetings of young people in the evening after the Sundays and other times."

The history of Connecticut does not relate of severe and numerous persecutions. Yet a number of laws enacted reveal intolerance lurking also in this Puritan establishment. Of the laws enacted against the Quakers Mr. Cobb writes: "This sect gave the first occasion for laws of discrimination among religionists. That enthusiastic people appeared about the same time (1656) in all the colonies, all of which except Plymouth and Rhode Island felt called upon to legislate against them. The measures adopted in Connecticut, for repressive character, lagged far behind those of Massachusetts, New Haven, New York, and Virginia. It may be doubted whether the general court would have enacted any laws at all against Quakers, had it not been for the pressure of Massachusetts in the union of the four colonies. As hitherto noted in the sketches of Plymouth and Massachusetts, the Bay colony was anxious for the moral support of the other colonies in its harshness toward that sect. Plymouth declined the action desired, but Connecticut yielded so far as to make a statute of repressive character, but which, like Bottom, 'roared like any sucking dove.' It used terms designedly opprobrious,—'Quakers, Ranters, Adamites, or such like notorious heretiques,' but curiously enough directed the legislation, not against the heretics, but the town entertaining them. The act of 1656 provided that, 'no towne within this Jurisdiction shall entertaine (such persons) above the space of fourteen days, upon penalty of £5 *per weeke* for any towne.' The act further said, 'If the towne please,' it could lodge the Quakers in prison until they could be conveniently sent away. Shipmasters were to be mulcted in £20 for bringing Quakers to the colony. The act of 1657 forbade a town giving any 'un-

necessary entertainment,' and corrected a fault of the previous law by defining that the fine must 'be paid by that inhabitant who gives the entertainment' to the Quakers. It also imposed an equal fine on any 'who shall unnecessarily speak with' the heretics. The next year, the possession of Quaker books was forbidden under penalty of ten shillings to all persons, 'except teaching Elders;' and then the court dismissed the whole matter by leaving 'to the discretion' of town magistrates the treatment of 'any such person found fomenting their wicked Tenets—to punish by fine, imprisonment, or corporeal punishment, as they judge meete.'"—In 1708 it was ordained that such as "neglect the public worship and form themselves into separate companies in private houses, shall each for every offense forfeit the sum of twenty shillings.'" And a person, not a minister, who should dare administer the sacraments should be fined £10 and whipped. In 1742 it was enacted that any person preaching in any parish without invitation of the minister of it, or of the officers, should be fined £100, and that a foreigner so offending should be sent by warrant from constable to constable, out of the colony. Some of the itinerant preachers connected with the Whitefield Awakening were expelled and, returning, were fined £100, and again driven away. In 1743 three Moravian missionaries were arrested and their work among the Indians broken up.

The Puritans in *New Haven* colony identified Church and State and established a theocracy more strict than that of Massachusetts. The Word of God was declared the only rule in ordering the affairs of government. The duty of the general court was: 1. to maintain the purity of religion, and to suppress the contrary; 2. to declare and establish the laws of the Scriptures. Of the spirit of persecution in New Haven Mr. Cobb writes: "The only occasion for the exhibition of a persecuting spirit was furnished by the Quakers. There is no reason to suppose that the pure theocracy of New Haven would have shown much tolerance for dissent

from the established Church, or have suffered a Roman Catholic to remain in the colony. But with such the *Records* do not show the government to have been tried. But the Quaker alarm woke New Haven to a frenzy only second to that of Massachusetts. In 1656 the rumor of the sect's approach brought out the law that 'Quakers shall not be suffered in this jurisdiction.' Then the court was silent on the subject for two years. Meanwhile some of the sect had ventured into the colony, and the general court in 1658 delivered itself of a batch of laws, not a whit less severe than those of the Bay, except in the item of capital punishment. Death was not among the penalties, but the enactments were sufficiently indicative of a frantic and intolerant state of mind. The law declared that 'whoso shall bring Quakers, or other blasphemous hereticks, into this jurisdiction shall forfeit the sum of £50.' If any Quaker should come on business, he might be allowed to despatch it, attended by a guard, and was to be put out of the jurisdiction when the business was concluded. If he refused the guard, or attempted communication with the people, he was to be imprisoned, severely whipped, and kept at work for a term discretionary with the magistrate. If a Quaker having once suffered under this law, should come again, he was to be branded with the letter 'H' on the hand and jailed. For a third offense the other hand should be branded, and the fourth offense was to be punished by boring the tongue with a hot iron. Quakers 'arising from among ourselves' were to be treated as foreign Quakers. Any person bringing Quaker books was fined £5. Entertainment or concealment of a Quaker was punishable by a fine of twenty shillings for every hour's entertainment or concealment. Any person defending the opinions of the Quakers should be fined for the first offense, £2; for the second offense, £4; and for the third offense he should be imprisoned until it was convenient to send him out of the colony. 'Lastly,' whoso reviled magistrates or ministers, 'as it is

usual with Quakers,' should be whipped or pay the sum of £5. Under this comprehensive law a number of Quakers, some foreigners and others, who had 'turned Quakers,' were prosecuted, whipped, imprisoned, and banished. But they were not many."

The same spirit of religious intolerance was manifested in Virginia, Carolina, New York, and Maryland by the *Episcopalians*. The first *Virginia* charter of 1606 declared that the "presidents, councils, and ministers should provide that the Word of God be preached, planted, and used . . . according to the rites and doctrine of the Church of England." The charter of 1609 licensed the company to take to Virginia persons "who would take the oath of supremacy." In 1612 Governor Sir Thomas Dale issued a code of "Laws Divine, Moral, and Martial" of which Mr. Cobb notes the following: "1. To speak impiously of the Trinity or one of the Divine Persons, or against articles of Christian faith, was punishable with death. 2. The same penalty was to avenge 'blaspheming God's holy Name.' 3. To curse or 'banne'—for the first offense some severe punishment; for the second a 'bodkin should be thrust through the tongue;' if the culprit was incorrigible, he should suffer death. 4. To say or do anything 'to the derision or dispight of God's holy word,' or in disrespect to any Minister, exposed the offender to be 'openly whipt 3 times, and to ask public forgiveness in the assembly of the congregation, 3 several Saboth daies.' 5. Non-attendance on religious services entailed a penalty, for the first offense, of the stoppage of allowance; for the second, whipping; for the third, the galleys for six months. 6. For Sabbath-breaking the first offense brought the stoppage of allowance; the second, whipping; and the third, death. 7. Preachers and ministers were enjoined to faithfulness in the conduct of regular services on pain 'of losing their entertainment.' 8. Every person in the colony, or who should come into it, was required to repair to the Minister for examination in the faith. If he should be unsound, he

was to be instructed. If any refused to go to the minister, he should be whipt; on a second refusal he should be whipt twice and compelled to 'acknowledge his fault on Saboth day in the assembly of the congregation;' for a third refusal he should be 'whipt every day until he makes acknowledgment.'" Even the severer punishments of Dale's Code were made use of by his successor Argal. The penalty for absence of one Sunday from church was five pounds of tobacco, and for speaking disparagingly of any minister without proof, five hundred pounds of tobacco. The people were forbidden to sell any tobacco or corn until the minister was paid of the best of both crops. In 1634 Henry Coleman was excommunicated for forty days by the civil power "for using scornful speeches and putting on his hat in church." For ridiculing Archbishop Laud Stephen Reek was pilloried for two hours, fined £50, and jailed at the governor's pleasure. In 1631 absentees from church services were fined one shilling for each offense.

The Virginia Assembly of 1623 enacted that there should be a "uniformity in our Church as near as may be to the Canons in England." In 1629 it was ordered that "all ministers conform themselves to the canons of the Church of England." The assembly of 1631 ordained that every minister should preach one sermon every Sunday, instruct the youth half an hour before every service, visit the "dangerously sick," administer the sacrament thrice in the year, etc. In 1628 Lord Baltimore was not allowed to remain in the colony, even temporarily, because he refused to take the oath of supremacy. Against Puritans and Romanists a law was enacted 1642, by which Catholics were to be disfranchised, priests expelled within five days, and Puritans prevented from reaching the colony. Governor Berkeley had a law passed which demanded the expulsion of all Nonconformists. In 1645 a law was enacted fining such clergymen as should "refuse to conduct service according to the Church of England" five hundred pounds of

tobacco. In 1661 it was ordained that the whole liturgy of the Church of England should be read every Sunday; that the catechism appointed by the canons alone be used; that ministers not ordained by some bishop in England be banished from the colony; and that children are illegitimate, when their parents were married by a minister not belonging to the Church of England.

Mr. Cobb writes of the persecutions against the Quakers: "The strange zeal which brought the early followers of Fox into every place where a chance of persecution offered, led some of their number to Virginia, where at once they were proscribed. We have no such detailed account of proceedings against them as exists in the annals of Massachusetts, but the laws to suppress them were surpassed in severity by the northern colony only in its imposition of the death penalty. In 1659 the legislature enacted its first law against the sect. Not anticipating their coming, as did Massachusetts, Virginia waited until the arrival of the dreaded agitators. Then the house of burgesses proceeded against 'that unreasonable and turbulent sort of people, comonly called Quakers.' Shipmasters were forbidden to bring them to the colony under a penalty of £100. The same penalty was ordered for any person 'entertaining' any Quaker. No person could publish or dispose of their books. All members of the sect in the colony were to be arrested and imprisoned until 'they abjure the country,' and then were to depart with all speed and not return again. If banished Quakers should return, they were to be punished as 'contemnners of the law and magistrates,' and if they should be 'a third time so audacious and impudent as to return hither,' they were 'to be proceeded against as felons.'" — In 1722 Mosley and Shelton, for baptizing a child, were thrown into jail and condemned to suffer thirty-one stripes, "16 in the evening and 15 in the morning." In 1768 Waller, Craig, and Childs, all three Baptist preachers, were imprisoned, being charged with "preaching the gospel contrary to law." The prose-

cuting attorney testified to their zeal, saying: "They cannot meet a man upon the road, but they must ram a text of Scripture down his throat." Patrick Henry secured the immediate discharge of all three by showing how foolish and wicked it was "to punish a man for preaching the gospel of the Son of God." In 1770 two other Baptist preachers, Webber and Anthony, were thrown into jail, where "they did much execution by preaching through the grates of their windows."

The charter of the *Carolinas*, though establishing the Church of England, accorded a larger measure of liberty to Nonconformists. The proprietaries of the charter promised to emigrants inviolable freedom and liberty of conscience in all religious and spiritual things, in as ample a manner as desired. An agreement of 1664 declared: "No person shall be any ways molested, punished, or called in question, for any difference in opinion or practice in matters of religious concernment." The "Fundamental Constitution" 1. excludes from Carolina atheists, who do not acknowledge a God, and irreligionists, who deny that God is publicly and solemnly to be worshiped; 2. enjoins upon parliament "the building of churches and the maintenance of divines of the Church of England;" 3. grants religious liberty to all other sects, Jews and heathens not excluded. In 1704, however, the intolerant Episcopalian party, plotting against the liberties of dissenters, passed a law "that all members of the legislature should be of the Church of England and have taken the sacrament in that church, at least once in the year past." Two years later this law was voided by the Queen in Council. In 1720 John Hassell was fined £25 for saying that he "had never been beholden to God for anything." Two years later the parson was authorized to sue the receiver-general, if his stipend of £100 was not paid within twenty-one days.—Thus the Puritans persecuted in order to "preserve the true religion in its purity," and Episcopalians, because they viewed dissent "as civil disorder and insubordination to the State,"

of which the Church of England was a department. The Puritans persecuted to make good Christians, the Episcopalians, to make good citizens. Both failed to see that persecution is subversive of true Christianity as well as good citizenship.

In *New York* the Dutch West India Company established the national Church of Holland in the "Articles for Colonization" of 1638. A very exclusive article on religion was adopted 1640, which declared: "No other religion shall be publicly admitted in New Netherland except the Reformed, as it is at present preached and practiced by public authority in the United Netherlands." In 1658 a Catholic and two Englishmen, who did not understand Dutch, were fined 12 guilders each for refusing to pay 6 guilders each toward the support of the Dutch minister in Brooklyn. About the same time the magistrates of Hempstead were authorized to "constrain and punish" such as refused to pay toward the minister's support. An ordinance of 1651 declared that the judges must be "promoters and professors of the Reformed Religion." When, in 1673 and 1674, the Dutch had regained their power in New York the following law was enacted: "Whosoever blasphemes the name of the Lord, or His holy Word, shall be, for the first offense, fined and committed three days to prison on bread and water; and, for the second offense, shall have his tongue bored with a red hot iron, and he shall furthermore be banished out of this government and the United Provinces, as a villain."

Of the tyranny of Governor Stuyvesant against the Lutherans Mr. Cobb writes: "The first dissenters subjected to his annoyance were the Lutherans. Many of these religionists had been attracted to New Amsterdam, and in 1653 petitioned the governor and council for liberty of worship and permission to send for a Lutheran minister. The petition was opposed by the Dutch clergy, and referred to the company in Holland, who, in 1654, replied: 'We have decided

absolutely to deny the request made by some of our inhabitants, adherents of the Augsburg Confession, for a preacher and free exercise of their religion, pursuant to the custom hitherto observed by us and the East India Company, on account of the consequences arising therefrom; and we recommend to you also not to receive any similar petitions, but rather to turn them off in the most civil and least offensive way, and to employ all possible, but moderate, means to induce them to listen and finally join the Reformed Church.' Notwithstanding this rebuff, the Lutherans persisted in their desire, and held religious services in their houses without a minister, by which they excited the governor's wrath, made specially severe by the Lutheran assertion that 'Heaven was above law.' Some of the offenders he threw into prison, and posted up an 'edict' prohibiting any more attempts at their dissenting worship.' The law required that all children should be baptized by Reformed ministers and in Reformed churches only. In 1658 John Goetwater, a Lutheran minister, who had attempted ministerial functions, was banished by Stuyvesant.

In 1656 a law was enacted prohibiting "all conventicles and meetings, whether public or private, differing from the meetings of the Reformed Divine Service." Transgressors were to be fined, if preachers £100, if attendants £25. W. Hallett of Flushing was fined £50 for allowing a forbidden religious meeting in his house. H. Townsend of Rustdrop was fined £8 for holding a "prayer meeting in his house." For a similar transgression Wickendam, a preacher, was fined £100, and banished. In 1657 ten Quakers arrived from Boston, and were immediately imprisoned. One of the ten Quakers, Hodsham, escaped; was arrested in Hempstead; taken to New Amsterdam; condemned to two years' hard labor "at the wheel-barrow with a negro; beaten unmercifully and strung up by his hands with a log tied to his feet." For continuing his prayer meetings and joining the Quakers H. Townsend was "cast into a miry

dungeon." In 1661 Tilton, Henry Townsend, and his brother John were banished for "harboring Quakers." Of the measures taken 1662 Mr. Cobb writes: "A proclamation was issued forbidding the public exercise of any other than the Reformed religion, 'either in houses, barns, ships, or yachts; in the woods or fields,' under penalty; for the first offense, of 50 guilders fine; for the second offense, 100 guilders; and for the third, 200 guilders fine, with 'arbitrary correction.' To import or distribute Quaker books was punishable by a fine of 150 guilders, while to receive such books subjected the recipient to a fine of 50 guilders. All persons arriving at New Amsterdam were to register and take the oath of allegiance, under the penalty of 50 guilders fine and 'arbitrary correction.' All magistrates conniving at a violation of this ordinance were to be degraded and made incapable of holding office. The climax to these high-handed measures was reached through the action and experience of John Bowne of Flushing. He announced himself a Quaker, and made his house a home for any of the persecuted sect who might come to the town. On this he was arrested and fined £25. He refused to pay and was thrown into prison. He lay in prison several months, and was then sent by the governor to Holland. On arrival in Holland, Bowne at once appealed to the West India Company with the statement of his own wrongs and the sufferings of his fellow-religionists, securing from the company a sharp rebuke to Stuyvesant and a disallowance of all his persecuting measures."

In 1664 New Netherland was conquered by the British and the Reformed Church disestablished. It was, however, agreed that the Dutch should enjoy liberty of worship and discipline. At the same time "liberty of conscience" was granted by the Duke of York to all other dissenters. A similar proclamation was made by King James in 1674 promising tolerance to "all persons of what religion soever." The assembly of 1683 ordained: "No person professing faith in

God by Jesus is to be molested or called in question for any difference of opinion in matters of religion." The law indeed prescribed a church in every town, but not a church of a particular denomination. The Episcopalian governors, however, goaded on by the Episcopalian clergy, did not refrain from repeated attempts at establishing the Church of England and tyrannical interference with the churches. Thus Governor Andros commanded the Reformed church and pastor of Albany to receive Van Rensselaer as a co-pastor, but could not enforce his will. In 1679 Andros ordered the Dutch clergy of New York to ordain Tesschenmacker to the ministry. In this he was successful, although according to the Reformed church-polity the power to ordain did not belong to ministers as such, but to the classis, in this instance to the classis at Amsterdam. Thirty years later two Dutch ministers flatly refused to ordain Van Vleck at the governor's bidding. In 1686 Governor Dongan made attempts to enforce the following instructions given him by King James: "You shall take care that God Almighty bee devoutly and duely served throughout your Government, the Book of Common Prayer read each Sunday and Holy day, and the Blessed Sacrament be administered according to the Rites of the Church of England." Governor Fletcher issued a demand to the legislatures of 1692 and of 1693 to establish the Church of England. Of the act secured by Fletcher Mr. Cobb remarks: "What in legal construction it did, was to establish, not a church at all, but six Protestant ministers in places named, and these ministers of no specified denomination, save that they must be Protestants." When, in 1703, Episcopalians had treacherously taken possession of a fine stone church in Jamaica, belonging to the Presbyterians, Governor Cornbury confirmed the property in the hands of the Episcopalians, because it had been built "by a public tax." In 1707 Mackemie, a Presbyterian minister, was imprisoned by Cornbury for preaching in New York in a house, "with open doors," but unanimously acquitted

by the jury. In 1744 the Moravians were banished from New York by an act ordaining that "no vagrant preacher, Moravian, or disguised Papist, shall preach or teach, either in public or private, without first taking the oaths appointed by this act and obtaining a license from the Governor or Commissioner in Church for the time being."

In *Maryland* the assembly of 1637, all Romanists, enacted: "Holy church within this province shall have and enjoy all her rights, liberties and franchises wholly and without blemish." In the preceding year Lord Baltimore, a very wily or very inconsistent Romanist, required all officers to take the oath: "I will not, by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, trouble, molest, or discountenance any person, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, for, or in respect of, religion; but merely as they shall be found faithful and well-deserving; my aim shall be public unity, and if any person or officer shall molest any person, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, on account of his religion, I will protect the person molested and punish the offender." The assembly of 1638 refused canonical exemption to the Jesuits, enacting that the laws should be equally enforced "without distinction, exemption, or privilege of any." All Romanists were freemen, of Protestants only a small minority, though as early as 1641 the Protestants outnumbered the Catholics three to one, and twelve to one in 1675. This, together with the fact that Baltimore's appointments were from among the Romanists, was the cause of great dissatisfaction. To redress this grievance Baltimore, in 1648, appointed a majority of Protestant officials, thus placing the local government into Protestant hands. The "Toleration Act" of 1649 provided, that no person "professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall from henceforth be any ways troubled, molested, or discountenanced for, or in respect to, his or her religion, nor in the free exercise thereof within this province, or the islands thereunto belonging, nor in any way compelled to believe or exercise any other religion

against his or her consent, so that they be not unfaithful to the lord proprietary, or molest or conspire against the civil government." Thus Unitarians, Jews, infidels, and pagans were excluded from the jurisdiction of Maryland. In the same act it was ordained that blasphemy and denial of the Trinity should be punished by death; "reproachful words of the Virgin Mary, the apostles or evangelists" by a fine of £5; and calling any person by "such opprobrious terms as, Heretic, Schismatic, Idolater, Puritan, Independent, Presbyterian, Popish priest, Jesuit, Papist, Lutheran, Calvinist, Anabaptist, Brownist, Antinomian, Barrowist, Roundhead, and Separatist"—by a fine of ten shillings. In 1650 every resident was required to declare by oath "for liberty of conscience in point of religion to himself and all other persons." Under Lord Baltimore there was no State Church in Maryland and hence no church-rates.

In 1652, however, the Protestant party took possession of the government. Two years later the "Toleration Act" of 1649 was repealed and the "Popish Religion" excluded from the protection of the colony; but Cromwell commanded to leave the act of 1649 unchanged. In 1692 Baltimore's charter was voided by King William, and Governor Copley summoned an assembly, which established the Church of England in Maryland. The Quakers alone protested against church-rates "as a burden to their consciences and estates." The public exercise of the Catholic religion was prohibited. Non-episcopal worship of Protestants was barely tolerated. Nonconformists were vexed, and various efforts were made to increase the power of the Established Church. In 1700 the Church party enacted a law ordering "that the Book of Common Prayer be read by every minister or reader in every church, or other place of public worship." But this and other tyrannical acts were disallowed by the King. In the same year it was enacted that every minister of the Established Church should be appointed by the Governor. The parishes complained of incompetent and immoral min-

isters, but were told that all the parishes in Maryland were donatives and beyond the control of any bishop in England.

As to persecutions of Nonconformists in Maryland Mr. Cobb writes: "I have found no records of severe persecution of persons of any faith, though the earlier years of the establishment were full of annoyance. The majority of the population was so overwhelmingly non-episcopal — Baptist, Presbyterian, Huguenot, Methodist, German Reformed — that the legislature never ventured to interfere with their right of worship, though compelling their contributions to the support of the Established Church. The Quakers and Roman Catholics were the special objects of animosity, and of these the former found early relief from trouble. The lot of the Romanists was much more vexatious. They were not driven out of the province; they were not imprisoned or beaten. But they were deprived of all civil rights, prohibited the free exercise of their worship, and fined on any violation of the narrowing laws. Some of the legislation evinces a peculiar malignity of spirit against them. Thus, the law of 1704, 'An Act to Prevent the Growth of Popery,' forbade a 'popish bishop or priest' to exercise his functions in any public service, under a penalty of £50 fine, or six months' imprisonment. If one, once convicted, should be guilty of a second offense, he was to be sent to England for punishment. The only service permitted to the Romanist was within the limits of a 'private family of the Romish communion.' The same act laid a tax of twenty shillings on every Irish servant imported, to 'prevent the entrance of papists.' This provision was renewed in 1714; a fine of £5 was imposed for concealing such importation, and certain oaths were ordered for persons on incoming ships, to discover their religious opinions. In 1715 it was enacted that children of a Protestant father and Roman Catholic mother could, in case of the father's death, be taken from the mother. In case a son in a Romanist family became a Protestant, the father lost control of him and must be com-

pelled to support him. The act of 1716 required the oath of abjuration for all persons elected to office; and that of 1718 denied the ballot to Romanists unless they abjured their faith."¹⁾

Such were the acts of persecution, tyranny, and religious intolerance perpetrated in the name of religion by zealous Puritans and Episcopalians imbued with the Reformed theories of Church and State and mistaking these errors for divine truths. Our Colonial History proves beyond cavil that America does not owe its religious liberty to Reformedism and Calvinism. F. BENTE.

1) In the West of *New Jersey* the Quakers predominated, making no restrictions whatever on religious liberty. In the East of New Jersey the Presbyterians were numerous, limiting liberty and citizenship to persons "acknowledging one Almighty and Eternal God, and professing faith in Christ Jesus." When, in 1702, Queen Anne assumed the government of New Jersey the Episcopalian governors of New York made repeated, but futile attempts at abrogating religious liberty and establishing the Church of England.—The Quakers in *Pennsylvania* refused to tolerate atheists and irreligionists. In 1682 it was provided that all officials "shall be such as profess faith in Jesus Christ," and that no person shall be molested who acknowledges "the one Almighty and Eternal God to be the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the world." The assembly of 1696, however, passed "A New Act of Settlement" which excluded Catholics, Socinians, and Jews from office.—The charter of *Rhode Island*, issued in 1663, declared that no person shall be molested "for any difference of opinion in matters of religion." In 1665, however, the Quakers were outlawed, because they would not bear arms. Another law, which Bancroft declares interpolated, denied citizenship to Roman Catholics.

THE PASTOR AS A MODEL TO THE CONGREGATION.

(By request.)

Object-teaching has its acknowledged advantages. Unlike other modes of teaching it enlists not only the reflective but also the perceptive faculty. It renders comparison easy, and enables us to establish more readily the agreement or disagreement between objects.

It is the declared will of God that the Christian pastor should adopt this mode in teaching his parishioners. The pastor himself is to be the object. Peter exhorts "the elders" (πρεσβυτέρους) "to be *ensamples* to the flock.¹⁾ Paul instructs the young pastor Timothy: "Be thou an *example* of the believers, in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity."²⁾ The same apostle writes to Titus: "In all things showing thyself a *pattern* of good works: in doctrine showing uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity, sound speech that cannot be condemned, that he that is of the contrary part may be ashamed, having no evil thing to say of you."³⁾

The burden of these passages is that the pastor should be a model, *τύπος*, to his flock. The parishioner shall have the right to compare his pastor's teaching with his pastor's living. It will be found to conduce to the pastor's success if the ethics which he proclaims do not clash with the ethics which he practices. Moreover, for the pastor's own peace of mind it is necessary that there be an appreciable agreement between his preaching and conversation. The pastor is not an actor who appears before his audience in an assumed role. In that case it is understood that what the spectators witness is a sham performance and intended to be such. The mind receives no shock when after the play the actor appears in his true character. But the pastor is supposed to be in earnest; his preaching is no joke. If he is aware of this, what must the condition of his mind

1) 1 Pet. 5, 3.

2) 1 Tim. 4, 12.

3) Tit. 2, 7. 8.

be if he lives in open contradiction to his teaching! No person can defy his own conscience with impunity. The outraged conscience will avenge itself in fearful compunctions. The pastor who attempts to be consistently inconsistent, like the wicked, will have no rest in his own mind.

Τύπος is used to denote the stamp on a coin, or the graven or sculptured expression of a thought, hence, the representative form, the standard expression of something, the criterion. The three passages cited specify particular instances in which the pastor is to stand forth as a model to his flock.

And, first of all, our attention is invited to

THE PASTOR'S HUMILITY.

Peter places his admonition "to be ensamples to the flock" in opposition to a warning, "not to be lords over God's heritage." *Κατακυριεύειν*, literally, means "to lord it over."¹⁾ According to Cremer it is not simply synonymous with *κυριεύειν*; the latter means to rule, the former, to rule with violence, to subdue, to become a despot.²⁾ The peculiar contrast, then, which Peter introduces in this passage would seem to justify this proposition: He who lords it over God's heritage cannot be an ensample to the flock.

Κατακυριεύειν was what the Savior, on a certain occasion, charged the Twelve with, as the context shows.³⁾ The mother of James and John had asked the Lord for preferment for her sons. She had been the first in the select company of the Lord to manifest ambition. And when the matter became mooted among the other disciples, they, too, by the indignation which they showed, had revealed an ambitious, highminded, and jealous spirit. It was then that the Lord administered a solemn rebuke to ecclesiastical arrogance and quelled the first uprising of the hierarch.

1) Cf. Matt. 20, 25. Mark 10, 42. Acts 19, 16.

2) Cremer, *Bibl.-theol. Wörterb.*, 7. ed., sub *κατακυριεύω*, p. 553.

3) Matt. 20. Mark 10.

And when Peter, who had been present at this scene, years after wrote those words to "the elders" in his First Epistle: "Neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock," was there not perhaps a recollection awakened in his mind of that occurrence? The use of the same word, *κατακυριεύειν*, would seem to suggest this.

The first obstacle, then, which must be removed, before "God's heritage," *i. e.*, the true believers, will take pattern after their pastor, is greed of honor on the pastor's part, a desire to exercise a greater influence and to be accounted more than an ordinary follower of Christ. True, the command to "be an ensample" seems to imply that the pastor should excel his parishioners in that thing wherein he is to be their model. But that cannot justify any arrogance on the pastor's part in assuming that he thus excels. For the desire of lordship is just a thing from which the heritage of God is to be free; hence, he who is the called teacher and guide of the heritage must renounce arrogance, pride, in the first place. Peter here inculcates a paradox: the model pastor will rise in the estimation of his flock in proportion as he sinks in his own; his influence will be greatest when he avoids the appearance of wanting to exercise it; his example will be brightest when in his heart he considers himself a warning to others; he will be the *dominus*, indeed, in his parish, when he calls himself "your humble servant," and means it. "Ye know," says He who is *dominus dominorum*, "that they which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and their great ones exercise authority upon them. *But so shall it not be among you:* but whosoever of you will be the chiefest, shall be servant of all. For even the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister and to give His life a ransom for many." ¹⁾

1) Mark 10, 42—45.

The exemplary conduct of the pastor begins with the chapter of humility—beyond doubt, the cardinal Christian virtue. The entire economy of grace may be said to deal with this vexing question: How can the pride of the spirit of mortals be effectually broken, and the broken-hearted be comforted and kept humble? The sacred pages are teeming with impressive appeals to be humble; and they are meant primarily for the pastors; for, *qualis rex, talis grex*.

The Christian pastor is the representative of the King of kings. But this King entered the capital of His country riding upon the humble beast of burden, the symbol of meekness, not upon the prancing steed, the herald of might. He came surrounded by a band of herdsmen and fishermen, waiving the imposing grandeur of an earthly pageant. He did not receive the courtly homage of the peers of the nation, but was delighted with children's hosannahs. He was crowned, not with the imperial diadem, but with thorns. This great Potentate stood pleading before His people thus: "Take my yoke upon you and learn of me: for I am meek and lowly in heart."¹) He seemed to stake the success of His mission upon His serving attitude and His unassuming ways. Paul, in exhorting the Philippians to humbleness of mind, says: "Let nothing be done through strife or vain-glory; but in lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than themselves." And the best illustration which he can offer of such a mind he introduces in these words: "Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus."²) And here is an object lesson administered by the Savior Himself to the first Christian pastors: "He sat down, and called the twelve and saith unto them, If any man desire to be first, the same shall be last of all, and servant of all. And He took a child, and set him in the midst of them: and when He had taken him in His arms, He said unto them, Whosoever shall receive one of such children in my name, re-

1) Matt. 11, 28.

2) Phil. 2, 3. 5.

ceiveth me, and whosoever shall receive me, receiveth not me, but Him that sent me.''¹⁾ Also in the care of the little ones of the flock, the pastor is to evince his humility. There is to be nothing too small, too lowly for him in the service of his Master.

When Christ thus assigns to the pastor his humble station among the flock, it is plain that He wishes the pastor to keep that station, and that the pastor cannot leave it to ascend to a higher one by any means, which Christ is willing to furnish him, or of which He would approve. Hierarchical pretensions will always necessitate the sacrifice of other Christian virtues besides that of humility. Truthfulness, uprightness, fair dealing go by the board; deceitfulness, fraud, lying, hypocrisy, plotting, scheming, are resorted to in order to carry ambitious ends. The history of popery and of Romanizing tendencies in the Protestant churches shows this. Ambition has never conquered unless allied with the arts of deception.

Nor has it enjoyed its spoils in peace. What was gotten by force has to be retained by force. The strain which the first ambitious effort began to exert upon the mind has to be continued. On the other hand, the quiet, unassuming, humble pastor is the happiest of all mortals: he enjoys the confidence of his surroundings; his mind is not agitated by fear of losing honor, distinction, authority; for all those things he has laid down outside the threshold of the ministry. He increases his influence through being accounted disinterested. His counsel is likely to prevail, and his very wishes are respected. A wise pastor will gain the good will and confidence of his parishioners, not by presuming to be above them, but by making them understand that he is and wants to be one of them. If he holds any prerogatives, it is not by a claim on his, but by a willing grant on their part.

1) Mark 9, 25—27.

Moreover, a Lutheran pastor has in the history of his church a strong reminder against pastoral arrogance. It was by the service of the Lutheran church that the blasphemous claims of the Vicar of Christ, so called, were successfully met and defeated once for all times. The German Reformers who faced the bragging emissaries of Rome at Worms and Augsburg struck a mortal blow at the entire anti-Christian hierarchy and overturned its self-reared throne. Frequently the Lutheran confessions call upon the clergy to remember the days of old, the priest-ridden past and the Babylonian bondage of God's heritage under popery.¹⁾ Even to-day all Christendom stands beholden to consistent Lutherans for their faithful and untiring testimony against the unresting aggressiveness of power-loving Rome.

Pastors of the Lutheran Missouri Synod will readily recall the sorrows of their forefathers half a century ago. We think of Stephan and the downtrodden Saxon congregations in Perry County. What an ocean of woe rolled in upon those German pilgrims from the proud heart of one man! What agonies of soul did his wanton edicts excite and nurse to their full growth of despair! What an ugly stain was this man permitted to place upon the first pages of the fair record of our organization! And how dismal was the end! Our Lutheran Zion in this country was not to be built by the labors of such a man; he had to be removed before the building could be begun. And when the real work of building was commenced, behold the change in the character of the pastors who led in the van! The forests along the banks of the Obrazos River are reverberating with the sounds of axes, saws, and hammers wielded by men who in their mother country should have been accounted worthy of highest church and state honors. Men of scholarly attainments built with their own hands and in the sweat of their

1) Cf. Augsburg Confession, Art. 28, §76—78, N. M., 2. ed., p. 140. Ibid., p. 118: "Bishops should demean themselves," etc. Apology, Art. III, §111—114, p. 196 f.

brows the humble log-hut at Altenburg, in which they afterwards taught the languages, science, and theology. And when we think of Dr. Walther's residence of two rooms in a squalid, smoky quarter of St. Louis, and of his niggardly salary,—of Wyneken's intrepid excursions into the forests of Ohio and Indiana,—of the frugality, the pinching economy, the almost ascetic plainness which used to characterize the homes of our early pastors, and of their courage which did not quail at the meanest drudgery—when we think of these things and compare with them the wonderful results of labors undertaken in such a spirit, pastoral humility stands before us divinely blessed, noble, inspiring.

"Time flies, and conditions change." True enough; however, that would merely prove that humbleness must be practiced now under different circumstances; but it must still be practiced. The pastor should, indeed, understand the needs of his time and station, and adapt himself to them, but he must not imbibe the spirit of a haughty age.

In 1 Tim. 4, 12 special directions are given to a young pastor. As a rule, youth is accorded special liberties. We offer the fact of a person's youthfulness as an explanation for his defects, or a reasonable excuse for his wants. We do not measure his capabilities with the standard of tried experiences. We are willing to be lenient, indulgent, awaiting developments. It is well that the young pastor should share these privileges. Nevertheless, also the young pastor is to be *τύπος*, a model. His youth must not be used against him. Shallow and insipid old age, empty-headed know-alls, and undiscerning young members of the congregation are apt to belittle the young pastor, *merely because he is young*. This the young pastor may not tolerate. "Let no one despise thy youth." He should pocket a personal affront, and bear in mind that he cannot command that degree of reverence which is accorded venerable old age, but he must not suffer the office vested in him to lose in dignity on account of his personality. His people must understand that even

in the mouth of a beardless youth, fresh from the seminary, yea, of babes and sucklings, the Word of God is still the power of God unto salvation, and demands respect from all. — On two other occasions Paul manifests some anxiety regarding the reception which his young charges, Timothy and Titus, may receive. Hence, he considers this a matter of some moment.

In a word, then, Paul here urges the young pastor to bear himself in such a manner that no one shall have occasion to revile his office for the sake of his tender years. Although he is young, and many of his parishioners are old, nevertheless he is their leader. Old pupils have sat at the feet of young teachers before: the Jewish rabbis listened with amazement to the interpretation of Scripture by a twelve-year old youth; Jeremiah, "the child," was set up "as an iron pillar and brazen walls against the whole land;"¹⁾ young Samuel became the Lord's messenger to his superior Eli. Yea, the Lord was better pleased with young Samuel than with old Eli, who did not govern his house well. "*Τύπος* = ratio parandae verae auctoritatis," says Bengel in his gloss to just this passage.

And now the apostle proceeds to enumerate the things wherein even the young pastor should be a model.

THE PASTOR'S LANGUAGE.

First, "*ἐν λόγῳ* — in word." Bengel's gloss reads: "in sermone, publico et privato." Cremer takes *λόγος* to be the opposite of *ἔργον*, which would come to the same thing: *ἔργον*, the pastor's action, *λόγος*, his language.

In the important office of a pastor not only what is said, but also how it is expressed, is of great moment. As to the matter of his talks, public and private, that is furnished by the holy Scriptures. The pastor, as such, has no business to give his classics or his science or his history

1) Jer. 1, 6. 18.

an airing before his parishioners. If the congregation is itching for a dissertation on the merits of the style of Emerson, or on the scientific value of the observation of the transit of Mercury, let them go to a professor of literature or astronomy. The Christian pastor is too good for such things. As to the manner of his talks, his choice of words, the pastor, if he is a wise man, will choose that, too, from the Scriptures, and will stock his mind with a rich vocabulary of Bible words and phrases. For the mysteries of God cannot be expressed in more striking or apter terms than in the words to which the Spirit gave utterance.

There are objections to this course. It is held that every Christian has his Bible and can read it for himself; and if the pastor is to do nothing but recite chapters from Scripture, what is the use of teaching him the classics and dogmatics, etc., for ten years? Why not simply direct him to memorize the Scriptures and then ordain him? The objection is hasty. The pastor, as teacher of his congregation, must enable his members to understand and to apply to their individual needs the Word, which God has spoken to all men. He is the called interpreter and enforcer of God's Word to his people. And how is he to interpret? *Scriptura scripturam explicat*. He must explain his text by pointing out such other passages as have a bearing on it; and he must bring his parishioners face to face with those divine truths which they are as yet ignorant of, or which they practically ignore. And only so far as he does this, does he preach Scripture to them. He may set forth and illustrate the truths of Holy Writ in the common language of men; but there is a peculiar power and an extraordinary light in the passages which he cites in proof of his teaching.

Paul was a very successful pastor. But he had great trouble through the language which he used. At Corinth prejudice was excited against him because of "his contemptible speech." And Paul, in a manner, concedes this

point, when he says: "Though I be rude in speech, yet not in knowledge." Still, he made it his boast, that he came not "with excellency of speech," that his "speech and preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom." And he urges Titus to use "sound speech that cannot be condemned;" for he wants pastors "not to give offense in anything, that the ministry be not blamed."¹)

There is a language of the children of God, sober, chaste, and plain; and there is a language of the children of this world, bold, filthy, and equivocal. There is a Bible English and a newspaper English. The choicest gems of secular literature do not sustain a comparison with the beauties of the sacred volume. The Unitarian who, in addressing a Boston audience, cited Scripture and then wished to improve upon it by adding, "Or, as Shakespeare has better said," displayed poor taste. A Webster in his audience would have risen to rebuke him, and Shakespeare himself would have declined the compliment as an insult. The Chicago professor who saw fit to employ his abundant leisure in ridiculing the language of sacred poetry in use in the churches, was rightly served when editors and cartoonists of the press of his city turned against him.

Scripture has in a number of places recorded the speeches of men. This matter affords interesting and instructive study. *E. g.*, let one compare the speeches made at the trial of Paul at Caesarea:²) there is the shrewd "orator" Tertullus, skillful in the use of *captatio benevolentiae*, fawning to obtain the good will of Felix, and suddenly waxing bold and cruel when he attacks the prisoner. Next comes the simple reply of Paul, which, by its plainness and modesty, impresses even the heathen Felix. Later on we find the two speeches of Felix to Agrippa, first the one in private, undecided, hesitating, halting; then the one in public, pompous, ponderous with its pleonasms and hyper-

1) 2 Cor. 6, 3.

2) Acts 24—26.

boles; and finally we hear Paul once more in his straightforward answer, gentle yet strong, reserved yet bold.

We shall have occasion once more to revert to this topic of the pastor's language, and proceed now to

THE PASTOR'S CONVERSATION.

The scriptural meaning of *ἀναστροφή*, which our Bible has translated by "conversation," may be found by comparing a few parallel passages. In Hebr. 13, 18 we have the verb *ἀναστρέφειν*, which is there translated by "live." 1 Tim. 3, 15 this same verb is translated by "behave." The noun occurs *e. g.* 1 Pet. 3, 2: "Your chaste conversation coupled with fear." And the close connection, by a relative pronoun, of this verse with the two following verses may throw still more light on the meaning of *ἀναστροφή*. In the following verses the apostle censures the vanities of dress and style. A person's "conversation," then, embraces also these things. The noun *ἀναστροφή* occurs again 2 Pet. 2, 7: "Just Lot, vexed with the filthy conversation of the wicked." And here again we are helped by the context; for the next verse reads: "For that righteous man dwelling among them, in seeing and hearing, vexed his righteous soul from day to day with their unlawful deeds."

Ἀναστροφή, then, is a person's manner of living, his deportment, his style of dress, his table and fare, the furniture and equipment of his lodgings, his social relations and intercourse, that which gives him a standing, a character, in the community, that which may at any time become the topic for reflection, or gossip, on the part of his fellow citizens. In a word, *ἀναστροφή* is conduct in the broadest sense.

No man's conversation after the fall is unimpeachable. Christ had to "redeem us from our vain conversation received by tradition from our fathers."¹⁾ After regeneration the converted are only gradually turned away from the things on which their worldly mind doted before. They

1) 1 Pet. 1, 18.

learn that all those things are doomed. "Seeing that all these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy conversation and godliness."'))

No pastor's conversation is perfect. He is in the world and partakes of the things of the world. He is not unaffected by what is going on about him. The current of the times may sweep him along, upsetting his better judgment, and making him afterward to be secretly ashamed. This is especially so when the pastor has under his charge a worldly-minded congregation, a congregation strongly imbued with the spirit of the world and honeycombed with the vanities of worldly men. In imperceptible degrees the pastor may be led to conform to these things, until he is governed by them to a greater extent than he is himself aware of, or is willing to concede to his observing and concerned friends. It is a shallow claim that in indifferent matters the pastor should not conjure up scruples against himself. Not everything which creates no surprise in other persons' conduct will be viewed with the same unconcern in the pastor's conduct. Let him try, *e. g.*, to invest a hundred dollars in speculation, or sue a bad debtor, and watch the result. Even worldlings feel that a Christian pastor whom they observe speaking and acting in the fashion of the world is not what he ought to be.

Not wanting to advocate eccentricity and quixotism on the part of the pastor, it must, nevertheless, be held that in his private and public conduct the pastor should differ from the average man of the world. A Christian pastor should stand like a rock in his community amid the ever-changing vanities of the world, and a Christian parsonage should be like a spiritual oasis in this worldly desert. It is easily understood why the agnostic Brehm could become so much impressed with the peace, tranquillity, and almost sacred air of the homes of evangelical pastors in all lands,

1) 2 Pet. 3, 11.

that he did not hesitate to tell the infidel Turnverein of St. Louis, much to their disgust, that in all the world the spot where he loved best to linger was in an evangelical pastor's home and family.

Next the apostle notes

THE PASTOR'S CHARITY.

The Greek term is ἀγάπη. Bengel in his gloss to this term refers to 2 Cor. 6, 6, where patience and a benevolent disposition are mentioned as some of the choice gifts of the Holy Spirit. Ἀγάπη is the apostle's theme in 1 Cor. 13, and the entire chapter may be considered a divine interpretation of this term. Cremer informs us that this word is not used by profane Greek writers; they speak of *στοργή* and *φιλία* and *φιλαδελφία*, but the exact idea which New Testament Greek expresses by ἀγάπη appears to have been unknown to them. This word was coined in heaven and was thence sent into this vale of misery in the incarnation of the Son, whom Paul in Col. 1, 13 calls *ὁ υἱὸν τῆς ἀγάπης*, the Son of the Father's love—literally rendered. Christ is not only the Beloved of the Father, but also the living expression of the love of God to all men.

The pastor should excel his flock in love. As he *speaks* to his congregation of Him "who loved us and gave Himself for us," so he must also *show* them in practical instances the love of Christ: in the quelling of strife, in the dissipating of false suspicions, in the reversing of uncharitable judgments, in the bearing of weak members, in the reuniting of severed bonds of friendship, in the relief of the suffering, in the soothing of pain, in the appeasing of hunger, the protection of orphans, the drying of widows' tears, the befriending of the poor and forsaken.

The pastor should also be active and foremost in deeds of love, or charity. The last census reports (1890) have shown, amongst other things, that Lutheran pastors, as a rule, receive meager salaries. Accordingly, they will very

often feel embarrassed in trying to answer the numerous demands made upon their charity, and will regret that they cannot personally forward charitable undertakings begun under their direction in such a manner as to emphasize their appeals to others by their own bounteous acts. Close economy, conscientious husbanding of his slender means, however, enables even a poorly salaried pastor to become a shining light to his congregation in deeds of charity. And with the pastor's increase in the grace of giving, the Lord multiplies to him the means wherewith to practice charity.

By an existing sentiment the pastor is granted certain immunities. He is told that what is wanted of him is not financial, but moral support. He is virtually asked to *speak* his share in behalf of charity, and excused from *doing* his share. The pastor will do well if he does not rely on this immunity; it may become a bane to his faith. The pastor's old Adam is just as cunning a knave as anybody else's old Adam; and this old Adam can with astonishing readiness draw from the popular sentiment, that the minister *must* not give, this other, that the minister *must not* give.

Pastor Wyneken's oft-emptied flour barrel, his well-worn garments, his sacrifice of his shirt in order to decently robe a corpse for burial, were, in their way, among the most powerful sermons which this servant of Christ preached. Practical charity reveals in its agents a spirit of unselfishness and a willingness to make sacrifices. Such was the spirit of Him who laid down His life for us. His spirit passed over to His early followers. 'Αγάπη conquered many a pagan heart in the first centuries of the Christian era. "Behold their love!" the heathen cried, wondering at the unresting charity of Christians. 'Αγάπη can do as much in our time. It is this virtue in a pastor that makes most for his ultimate success among the hardened, and endears him to his own flock. They know that their pastor loves them, and judge all his utterances and acts from that motive. Also to the stranger and outsider the home of such a pas-

tor is like the friendly inn by the wayside, where not the cold cheer of verbose pity, but the substantial comforts, which the compassionate heart and the gentle hand are able to procure, await the weary and heartbroken wayfarer.

We have been warned that, as the end of all things draws near, "the love of many shall wax cold."¹) The Lord has not excepted the clergy in this prophecy. Our age is loud in protestations of charity, but barren in genuine deeds of charity. Let the Christian pastors, by their own example, show to the blind world and to their drowsy members the power of that love which once overcame the most stubborn hearts.

(To be concluded.)

Theological Review.

Sermons on the Gospels of the Ecclesiastical Year by Henry Sieck, Pastor of Mount Olive Lutheran Church, Milwaukee, Wis. Part First. St. Louis, Mo. Concordia Publishing House. 1902. Price, \$1.00.

This octavo volume of 229 pages contains 37 sermons on the Gospel lessons from the First Sunday in Advent to Pentecost Monday which we heartily endorse and recommend to our readers.

"For here we have the same doctrine, pure and unalloyed, the same precious truth of God which the apostles and prophets set forth by divine inspiration, which was professed by the martyrs, was voiced forth in strains of spiritual song, was cherished by our fathers, is held in sacred esteem by ourselves, and is being, God grant it, handed down to our children and children's children, also in the language in which this volume speaks, and in which these sermons were preached. Every page of the book bears testimony that the preacher and his hearers continue steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine."

As a fair sample of Rev. Sieck's simple, direct, and lucid style and manner we quote a paragraph from his ser-

1) Matt. 24, 12.

mon on "The doubts and offenses of human reason concerning the suffering and death of the Son of God," based on Luke 18, 31—43, which reads as follows:

"Though the disciples could not help understanding the literal meaning of Christ's words when He said, '*Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and all things that are written by the prophets concerning the Son of man shall be accomplished. For He shall be delivered unto the Gentiles, and shall be mocked, and spitefully entreated, and spitted on; and they shall scourge Him, and put Him to death: and the third day He shall rise again,*' still this saying was hid unto them. Doubts entered their minds as to the true meaning of these words. They took it for granted that these words could not be taken in a literal sense. And what were their doubts? They evidently considered it both impossible and unnecessary that their Lord and Master should suffer and die. Impossible they deemed it. Had they not heard Him say time and again that He was the true Son of the living God? Had they not beheld with their own eyes that nothing in this world could withstand His divine power? Had they not recognized in Him the divine Master who had conquered all diseases, all the demons of hell, and even death? And how often had His enemies attempted both with force and with subtlety to apprehend and to kill Him! At Nazareth they had led Him to the brow of the hill whereon the city was built, that they might cast Him down headlong. And how did He escape? Passing through the midst of them He went His way. At Jerusalem they had sent officers to take Him prisoner. The officers went and found Him preaching in the market place. His divine words so affected them they could not lay hands upon Him. Upon their return, being asked, 'Why have ye not brought Him?' they made answer, 'Never man spake like this Man.' In the temple the Jews had gone sheer mad when the Lord declared unto them, 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, Before Abraham was, I am.' They took up stones, stood around Him in a circle, and made preparations to stone Him to death. He seemed doomed right then and there. And how did He escape? Majestically going through the midst of them, He passed out of the temple. No arm was able to move, no stone was hurled at Him. Of such things had the disciples been eyewitnesses. Hence their doubts as to the possibility of Christ's falling into the hands of His enemies to suffer and to die."

May part second of this excellent postil soon follow the first.

F. B.